THE CONTRIBUTION OF LITERARY SOURCES TO A STUDY OF THE CANAANITE BURIAL PATTERN

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Approved

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this investigation was to examine and define the Canaanite burial pattern of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages in the light of recently discovered material remains by the investigator at Tell Dothan, and remains discovered at six other sites. The selected sites are representative of the total culture area and the arbitrary peculiarities of the material remains are the concrete expressions of the common social traditions that bind together the Canaanites.

The study deals only with the material remains excavated at the selected sites of Tell es-Sultan (Jericho), Dominus Flevit (Jerusalem), Tell el-Jib (Gibeon), Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish), Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo), Tell el-Qedah (Hazor) and Tell Dotha (Dothan). The Dothan materials were recovered by the investigator during the seasons of 1959, 1960 and 1964.[1] 3146 artifacts and 288 skeletons were discovered in a single tomb. Its history began about 1400 B.C. and it remained in use until about 1100 B.C. The Dothan Expedition is directed by Dr. Joseph P. Free.

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1. Cooley, Robert E., Dothan Field Report. (Unpublished) 1959, 1960, and 1964.

Source materials for the selected sites were delimited to those published prior to July 1, 1966. The major tomb excavation at Tell Dothan is partially described in preliminary reports published in The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.[2] Inasmuch as the investigator directed the tomb clearance, additional information was available from the field report and used with the permission of the director.[3]

The investigation dealt only with the material remains of burials dated in the periods of the Middle Bronze Age (1900-1500 B.C.) and Late Bronze Age (1500-1200 B.C.), and includes only those remains which have been preserved and excavated. It must be recognized that the description of the burial pattern is incomplete because the data are limited to material remains, usually only the non-perishable artifacts. A few inferences can be made as to some of the non-material items which were associated with the objects found. Cognizance of tomb disturbance due to robbers or deterioration by natural conditions was made but recognized only as an insignificant part of the study.[4]

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2. Free, Joseph P., "The Sixth Season at Dothan." The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Number 156 (December, 1959), pp. 22-29. "The Seventh Season at Dothan," The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Number 160 (December, 1960), pp. 6-15.

3. Free, Joseph P., January 7, 1963, in a letter to the investigator.

4. See Appendix A for definition of terms used in this investigation.

Related Literature

Nowhere in the study of the related literature did the investigator find a comprehensive work that covered the material remains of the Canaanite burial pattern in the Canaanite culture area. Several studies have been made of burial practices at various archaeological sites and are a part of the published record of the site. This literature is catalogued in the bibliography. Allusions to the burial pattern are found in the literature dealing with the archaeology of the Near East, the Canaanites and the Old Testament and is catalogued in the bibliography. The following works are cited because of their special importance to the investigation.

John Gray summarized the trend of Canaanite burial customs in the second millennium and included the summary with the discussion of Canaanite daily life.[5]

William C. Graham and Herbert G. May analyzed the Cult of the Dead as a part of a study on the evolution of religion in Palestine.[6]

E. L. Sukenik prepared a descriptive study of the installations connected with the Cult of the Dead as practised in Canaan and Israel.[7]

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5. Gray, John, The Canaanites, pp. 77-81.

6. Graham, William C. and May, Herbert G., Culture and Conscience, pp. 24ff., 32ff., 42ff., 65ff., 75ff., 96, 133, 159, 303.

7. Sukenik, E.L., "Installations in Connection with the Cult of the Dead in Canaanite Ugarit and Israelite Samaria," Qedem II, 1945, pp. 42-58.

Theophile J. Meek summarized the Cult of the Dead as a form of early religion and ancestor worship in an analysis of the origins of the Hebrew religion.[8]

Significance of the Study

The archaeologist is constantly seeking to understand the past by the systematic study of the material remains found during his research. Burials, and their accompanying deposits, are a key source for the reconstruction of life and customs. The American Archaeologist, Robert Heizer says,

> "More details concerning the life of the people can be obtained from burials than from any other type of feature found by the archaeologist, except data incident to such major catastrophes as the destruction of Pompeii. The reason is simple: burials are almost the only major class of archaeological features that one can expect to find in the original complete condition, not worn down by use, and exactly as the people left them."[9]

It follows, the general pattern of burial can be reconstructed from the deposits found in tomb excavation.

What was done with the dead by the Canaanites the archaeologist can discover; why it was done and how the Canaanites felt and thought about death cannot so easily be determined. The distinction between facts and interpretation must be constantly kept in mind. One thing is evident; the facts are abundant and they certainly signify something.

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8. Meek, Theophile J., Hebrew Origins, pp. 86-90.

9. Heizer, Robert F. (ed.), The Archaeologist At Work, p. 84.

A rite of passage:- Death is a most significant event and holds meaning not only for the individual but also for society. Such an event is classified by anthropologists with other crises events of life -- birth, puberty and marriage -- as a rite of passage.[10] It is an event universally recognized and set off by ritual and ceremony. How did the Canaanites celebrate death? What ritual and ceremony accompanied their celebration? A study of the rites and ceremony can illuminate much about Canaanite culture and provide one good means to the analysis of Canaanite culture and to the understanding of Canaanite society.

Scholarship has provided only a partial picture of the Canaanite burial pattern. According to W. L. Reed,

> "It is certain that ancient peoples did not all attach the same significance to the practice of burying their dead in tombs. Although the difference between the tombs of the poor and the rich in Ancient Palestine can often be determined, there is uncertainty regarding the motivation and the ceremonies relating to burial practices. Scholars do not agree concerning the religious views evidence by the custom of building tombs in the shape of houses and of depositing food and other objects in them."11 (Italics mine)

He further indicates that,

> "the full theological significance of biblical burial practices is not known (italics mine) but it seems clear that they indicate an early belief in some type of survival after death, and the necessity of providing in a material way for such existence."12

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10. Beals, Ralph L. and Hoijer, Harry, An Introduction To Anthropology, p. 555.

11. Reed, W. L., "Tomb," Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Buttrick, George (ed.), Vol. R-Z, p. 668.

12. Reed, W. L., "Burial," Ibid., Vol. A-D, p. 476.

This incomplete picture is due, in part, to the meager Canaanite epigraphic evidence available. Further, no attempt has been made to reconstruct the general Canaanite pattern from the material remains which have come from numerous archaeological expeditions. This type of evidence often reveals much taken for granted by those who wrote.[13] Unless this evidence is analysed with reference to Canaanite culture as an integrated whole, the danger exists that more and more non-integrated facts may emerge, leading to sterile historical, cultural and religious interpretation.[14] This investigation provides a more conclusive picture of Canaanite burial rites and beliefs.

Cult of the dead:- Archaeologists have demonstrated that tombs can tell an important story about the cultural achievements and the religious beliefs of the people that were buried in them.[15] Hence the Middle and Late Bronze Age tombs are of great importance to our understanding of certain aspects of the spiritual life of the Canaanites. Inasmuch as there is evidence of an elaborate mortuary custom, this has been regarded as sufficient grounds to maintain the existence of a "Cult of the Dead."[16]

Graham and May state in their study that during the Stone Age

"there begins what might be described as an age

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13. Pritchard, James B., The Ancient Near East in Pictures, p. vii.

14. Franken, H. J. and Franken-Battershill, C. A., A Primer of Old Testament Archaeology, p. 142.

15. Heizer, op. cit., pp. 84-112.

16. Pfeiffer, Charles (ed.), The Biblical World, p. 242.

> of primitive anthropocentricity in which man becomes interested in his own fate and so moves ultimately toward some consideration of the environing forces which impose upon him his desperate struggle for life. . . . For want of a better term, the slowly emerging cultus which springs from it is often . . . referred to as the "Cult of the Dead."[17]

This "Cult of the Dead" is then traced through various developmental phases from Natufian times through the Early Bronze Age. Then,

> "as Palestine entered the period known as Middle Bronze I, the religion of its people was still the ancient 'Cult of the Dead.' There was no essential deviation from this during the two centuries which constitute this period. Only in one particular is any change in this ancient mortuary cultus reflected, and that is the increasing care which is bestowed upon burials. The generally crude cave burial chambers of earlier days are now sometimes superseded by shaft tombs with well-hewn chambers. From this one infers that the religious interest reflected in the earlier burials was well maintained and even enhanced in this period."[18]

Their study proceeds to show that the Canaanite cultus became much more elaborate during succeeding periods, especially during the period of Hyksos domination, and was influential upon Hebrew practices. It is maintained that the early practice of the Hebrew religion was "probably a compound of the ancient animistic Cult of the Dead and a simple, peasant variety of fertility Baalism."[19]

T. J. Meek interprets Hebrew funeral rites as evidence for the survival of a Cult of the Dead. He states,

> "with the Hebrews a highly elaborate Cult of the

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17. Graham, W. C. and May, H. G., Culture and Conscience, pp. 23-24.

18. Ibid., pp. 65-66.

19. Ibid., p. 159.

> Dead rather early developed, and its rites and institutions continued in vogue long after their original significance had been forgotten, despite the efforts of some to get rid of them. The Old Testament is full of references to the Cult, and the prophets were vigorous in their denunciation of it."[20]

Therefore, Meek is in agreement with the school of thought that believes the living ascribed a kind of divinity to the dead.[21]

In his description of a group of Israelite tombs excavated at Samaria, E. L. Sukenik assumes the Israelite practice of the Cult of the Dead. He states, "the pits in the tomb-caves are to be explained as the receptacles of offerings connected with the Cult of the Dead as regularly practised in ancient Israel in spite of the attacks of the prophets."[22]

On the other hand, there are scholars who have recently rejected this interpretation and insist that the Old Testament does not imply such a Cult of the Dead. Roland de Vaux says concerning this interpretation,

> "these funeral rites have sometimes been explained as evidence for a cult of the dead. Sometimes the argument is that the deceased person was feared, and that the living therefore wanted to protect themselves from him, or to secure his goodwill; at other times, it is argued that the living attributed a kind of divinity to the dead. There is no foundation for either opinion in the Old Testament . . . . We conclude that the dead were

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20. Meek, Theophile J., Hebrew Origins, p. 89.

21. Ibid., p. 90.

22. Crowfoot, J. W.; Kenyon, Kathleen; Sukenik, S. L., The Buildings at Samaria, p. 22.

honoured in a religious spirit, but that no cult was paid to them."[23]

The article on "Funerary Customs" in the Pictorial Biblical Encyclopedia edited by Gaalyahu Cornfeld emphasizes this same viewpoint, maintaining that the cult of the dead has no "solid support in the Old Testament. . . . In general, the dead were honoured in a religious spirit but were not made the objects of any cult."[24]

The reconstruction of the burial pattern in the light of the material remains assists in a fresh evaluation of a Canaanite religious rite known as a "Cult of the Dead." Furthermore, any future study of the Hebrew burial practice will have been preceded by a thorough study of the Canaanite practice and provides a basis whereby any elements of the Canaanite ritual introduced into the Hebrew ritual may be detected.

Archaeological methodology and interpretation:- One of the important tasks which confronts Palestinian archaeologists is to provide evidence which will distinguish between the culture of the late Canaanites and the early Israelites.[25] To date, the archaeological evidence indicates no sudden change in the material culture by the end of the Late Bronze Age. In order to discover material indications for the conquest by the Israelites, it is necessary to search for evidence of their military actions shown in the destructions of towns and for new

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23. deVaux, Roland, Ancient Israel, p. 61.

24. Cornfeld, Gaalyahu (ed.), The Pictorial Biblical Encyclopedia, p. 344.

25. Franken and Franken-Battershill, op. cit., p. 150.

settlements.[26] Several important questions need answers. Did the Israelites live in isolation from the Canaanites, slowly mixing with them? Were the Israelites immediately assimilated into Canaanite society? Did they overthrow immediately the Canaanite social structure? As soon as material remains can be identified as Israelite and are alien to Canaanite remains, then there is a chance that these two groups can be distinguished socially. The results of the investigation do contribute to this major problem by providing a criteria whereby Canaanite burials may be distinguished from Israelite burials, once sufficient Israelite graves have been excavated.

Tomb excavation provides abundant material for the reconstruction of a site's history; more and better preserved than that which is discovered in the occupational strata of the mound.

> "At Tell es-Sultan more information about life of the inhabitants was derived from the tombs than from the tell. . . . Owing to the special geological conditions of the Jordan Valley many objects of perishable material (such as wood, leather, vegetable matter, etc.) were preserved in the tombs which would otherwise have been completely lost, either in the destruction of the towns, or in the damp soil of the tombs."27

This investigation provides a register of artifacts from the Canaanite culture area which can assist in the examination and interpretation of occupational debris discovered at sites within the culture area.

Further, inasmuch as the material from Tomb No. 1 at Tell Dothan

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26. Aharoni, Y., "Problems of the Israelite Conquest in the Light of Archaeological Discoveries," Antiquity and Survival, VI, II, 2-3, 1957, pp. 131ff.

27. Franken and Franken-Battershill, op. cit., p. 50.

has not been evaluated nor published, this investigation serves to enable the proper interpretation of that material in two ways. First, it identifies those burial traits which are common to the Canaanite culture area. Second, it identifies those burial traits, which are unique to Tell Dothan, thereby indicating important local variations in the burial pattern or being the first of a material type to be found within the total culture area.

In summary, the writer desires that this study of the Canaanite burial pattern in the light of the material remains will be of value in three areas of thought: death as a Canaanite rite of passage; burial as a "Cult of the Dead:" and the value of tomb excavation to archaeological method and theory.

Methodology

An introduction to the Canaanite culture area begins the investigation. The geographical and historical setting was summarized with special emphasis upon the archaeological research at the selected sites.

Biblical and non-Biblical documents were analyzed to discover the descriptions of and allusions to the Canaanite burial pattern. The material remains discovered in the tomb clearance at the selected sites were then analyzed to discover the nature of the burial traits. Finally, the literary indications and the archaeological data were summarized and integrated to indicate the Canaanite burial pattern and conception of death. The value of the material remains to make the literary allusions

and descriptions clear was stressed. In those instances where it was not possible to achieve agreement on the data concerned, such differences were allowed to persist with the substantiating evidence for each position noted.

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND TO THE CANAANITE CULTURE AREA

The Geographical Setting of the Canaanite Culture Area

The Canaanite culture area embraces the western side of Breasted's "Fertile Crescent" of the Near East. An understanding of the geographical features of this area is basic to the study of any of the culture traits to be found there. A people's mode of life and thought is in part shaped by the physical environment in which they live. The physical geography of the Canaanite culture area helps to explain its momentous history.

Natural Climate Zones:- Three natural zones exist in the culture area: Mediterranean (fertile), semi-arid, and arid.[28] These three major ecological areas may be graphically portrayed as three bands situated one around another, the second area separating the first from the third. The Mediterranean zone comprises the good agriculture lands having a mean annual rainfall of over twelve inches. The semi-arid zone has a mean annual rainfall between twelve and six inches. The third zone, arid, has less than six inches of rainfall. Agriculture cannot be practiced in this third zone and other economic activities must be

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28. Braidwood, Robert J. and Willey, Gordon R., Courses Toward Urban Life. "Palestine-Syria-Cilicia," by Jean Perrot, p. 147.

pursued.

Jean Perrot has described the extent of the natural climate zones of the culture area as follows:

> "The Mediterranean zone is represented here by the western slopes of the Judean and Samarian hills, Mount Carmel, the Galilean mountains and the upper Jordan Valley, the lower slopes of the Lebanon range, the hills of the Syrian littoral, and the Hatay region up to the foot of the Taurus and the Kurdistan foothills. Certain hot and humid sections of the narrow coastal plain, especially where interruptions by dunes and marshes occur, never offered favorable conditions for settlement, even in historic times. . . . East of the Syro-Palestinian mountains, stretching parallel to the coast, one finds a semi-arid region with a steppe vegetation that becomes increasingly desert-like toward the south and the east (i.e., toward the Syro-Arabian desert, southern Negev, and Sinai). . . . It is represented in Palestine only by a very narrow strip extending from Gaza, on the Mediterranean coast, and the northern Negev, to the Transjordanian and Syrian plateaus. Moreover, the semi-arid zone contains topographical accidents such as the Dead Sea and Jordan Rift, where near-desert conditions give way to subtropical conditions, as in the case of the Jericho oasis and on the river banks."[29]

The western arid zone seals the passage from the northern lands of the Mediterranean littoral to Egypt and comprises the Sinai desert and the southern Negev. The eastern portion of the arid zone consists of the Syro-Arabian desert. The contrast of the arid zone with the fertile land is a sharp one.

The ecological diversity of the zones is reflected in the ancient cultural patterns of the area. Cultural separation persisted between northern Palestine which was directly connected with the great culture centers in the northern region of the Canaanite culture area, and

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29. Ibid., pp. 147-148.

southern and eastern Palestine which had affinities with the arid and semi-arid zones of the Near East.

Topographical features:- The Canaanite culture area comprises separate units known as Syria and Palestine. Syria has a variety of physical features. The coastal area consists of a broad strip of sand dunes covered by short grass and low bushes, followed by a series of low undulating hills and wide valleys which gradually rise to a height of about 500 feet. The strategic settlement centers along the coastal area are; Ugarit, Byblos and Tyre. Inasmuch as the rough terrain of the coast deprived the people of adequate opportunity for agriculture, these centers were chiefly active in commerce, both land and sea. Next, running north and south, are two parallel mountain ranges; the Lebanon and anti-Lebanon. Between these mountain ranges lies a great valley consisting mainly of alluvial deposits with terraces of gravel and sand on the inclosing slopes. To the east of the Anti-Lebanons there is a narrow stretch of cultivated land which eventually fades away into the sand and rocks of the Syrian desert. The three most important rivers are the Orontes, Leontes, and Abana. Alalakh, Hama, Qatna and Qadesh are key Canaanite cities located along the Orontes river.

Palestine was, by its physical nature, divided into four main regions running parallel from north to south.[30] First, the level coastal plain, which is interrupted only by the Carmel promontory. To the north

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30. For a description of the various regions, see G. A. Smith, The Historical Geography of the Holy Land. (Harper Torchbooks edition) pp. 52-62.

of the Carmel promontory is the narrow plain of Acco. The plain of Sharon lies south of the promontory to Joppa. The southernmost coastal area is named Philistia, after the Philistines. The unbroken shoreline of the coastal plains was not conducive to the development of good harbors. Furthermore, the shifting sand dunes forced the coastal highway to move inland. Consequently, the major settlement centers were not situated directly on the shore. The coastal highway and the rich alluvial soil made the plains area the richest region of the Canaanite culture area.

Secondly, a rugged series of mountains runs through the central region of the area, with an average elevation of 2400 feet. This central region is divided into a number of subdivisions. The northernmost section of mountains is known as Galilee and represents the highest peaks of the region. The rugged terrain isolated the area from the main arteries of commerce and centers of government. Its significance was agricultural; olive and fruit trees blanketed the mountainsides. South of these high peaks is the Jezreel valley, the largest valley bisecting the mountain range and connects the coastal plains area with the Jordan Valley. "The Jezreel Valley proper forms approximately an equilateral triangle, each side about twenty miles long."[31] Its importance lies in its rich soil and the numerous branches of the international trade route which crossed it in several directions. The central part of the mountain region was most important for settlement; it was forested, and the soil fertile and traversed by a mountain road which followed the watershed.

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31. Aharoni, Yohanan, The Land of the Bible, p. 22.

There is no natural boundary line between the central part and southern area of the mountain region. Its division is mainly political being created by the controlling interest of the Jebusites and the Hivites. This southern mountain area has fertile soil in its northern parts, but towards the south the land is suitable mainly for pastorage since the rain diminishes. Its eastern slopes are an almost complete desert. Separating the southern mountain region from the coastal plain of Philistia is a hilly region called the Shephelah. Its importance was two-fold: agriculture and military. The southernmost area of the central region is the Negev, the "Dryland."[32] In this arid country people can exist only with the most careful conservation of the water supply.[33]

Thirdly, there is the Jordan Rift, with its great depression and river.

> "This rift begins in the North Syria, where it forms the valley of the Orontes River, now called Nahr el-'Asi, continues in the depression between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon now called el-Beq'a meaning 'The Depressions,' and reaches its deepest part in its course through Palestine. Southward from there it forms the Wadi el-Arabah or "Desert Valley," the rift between the Dead Sea and the Red Sea, and finally it enters East Africa through the present Gulf of Aqabah and the Red Sea."[34]

The depression has made a sharp dividing line between the central mountain region and the Transjordan Plateau. Three bodies of water are located in

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32. Ibid. p. 23.

33. Glueck, Nelson, Rivers in the Desert, pp. 90-97.

34. Noth, Martin, The Old Testament World, pp. 14-15

the Palestinian sector: Lake Huleh, Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea. Huleh was a small marshy lake. Ten miles south of Huleh is the Sea of Galilee, a natural sweet-water lake with an abundance of fish. Seventy miles south of Galilee is the Dead Sea, the Biblical salt sea. The Sea has no natural outlet therefore producing a high salt content. The salt and bitumen were exploited in antiquity. The sea is surrounded by a salty desert and gigantic heights. The Jordan River connects these bodies of water, its main sources being the melting snows of Hermon and the springs at Dan and Baniyas. A winding course has been carved by the river which flows too deeply to be navigable. Occasionally its banks are flooded, making it possible to farm the irrigated areas. The Jordan rift south of the Dead Sea has no perennial river and is known as the Arabah, "desert." It has a hot climate with only sporadic rainfalls and a few springs to support a sparse settlement. The main importance of the Arabah stems from its control of the east to west trade routes and the copper mines in its vicinity.[35]

Fourthly, beyond the Jordan Rift, is the eastern range of barren hills which constitute the Transjordan plateau. Three large valley networks divide the plateau into separate sections. The northernmost valley is of the Yarmuk river system. Signs of volcanic activity are frequent in this region, making it a fertile basaltic tableland. The central valley system is associated with the Nahr Zerqa. A rugged mountain region surrounds the valley. Oak forests are to be found there. The

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35. Wright, G. E. and Filson, F., The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible, p. 20.

southernmost valley is the Wadi Mojib. Fertile plateaus surround the valley and were utilized basically for pastoral activity. East of the Transjordan Plateau the hills blend into the Syro-Arabian Desert, no natural border existing, but the wilderness itself.

Palestine's sharp division into these natural topographical units is described in a number of Biblical passages (Deut. 1:7; Josh. 10:40; 11:16; 12:8; Judges 1:9). It is clear that each region had its own geographical designation. To sum up, the Canaanite culture area is characterized by great variations in topography.

Geopolitical Relationships:- The political concerns of the Canaanites were in part due to the location of its culture area with reference to other countries. This is especially true of its southern region which served as the land-bridge between the Fertile Crescent and Egypt. As such, the area was often caught in the vice of military clashes between the great powers. The forays of foreign armies wrought utter destruction of its cities. The balance of power rested in the control of this land-bridge. The mighty kingdoms of Egypt and Mesopotamia labored hard to impose their authority over it, using this thoroughfare as a bridgehead for defense or offense.

Furthermore, the geographical situation was not conducive to political unity within the area. The northern regions of the Canaanite culture area tended to be commercially oriented and separate from the southern or Palestinian region which was agricultural and provincial in comparison to the great centers of the north. The variations in topography tended to emphasize local differences and a strong, unified Ca-

naanite state was never formed. City-states developed throughout the culture area and were located largely in the plains and not in the mountain country.[36] The invading Hebrews did not confront a unified Canaan.

The geographical features of the area had a bearing upon the economic factors as well. The natural north-south contours of the Palestinian region provided convenient trade routes, particularly the coastal plains. Trade routes often determined the sites for new settlements, and settled sites had a bearing upon the selecting of preferred trade routes. The shortest and natural way to Egypt ran from the plain of Philistia, via Gaza, through the Sinai Desert along the Mediterranean coast to the eastern borders of the Nile Delta. Well stations were provided along this route by the Egyptian pharaohs.[37] The commercial routes between Palestine and the northern region of the culture area were particularly important in offering contact with Asia Minor or Mesopotamia. The Canaanites were essentially middlemen in traffic between Mesopotamia and Egypt. This fact is very well illustrated by material remains from various archaeological sites. The Canaanites assimilated elements from the cultures of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and of Crete and Mycenae.

Sea commerce never held an important place in the economy of the southern region. The unbroken coastline was not suitable for anchorage.

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36. Ibid., p. 34.

37. Gardiner, A. H. "The Ancient Military Road between Egypt and Palestine," JEA, VI (1920), pp. 99-116.

Quite the opposite is true on the Syrian Coast where harbor cities flourished. The Ras Shamra tablets indicate commercial contacts with various harbor towns of the south, e.g. Tyre, Acco, Ashdod and Ashkelon.[38]

Farming without irrigation was the basis of agriculture in Palestine. The rain and dew were usually sufficient to assure a good harvest. In times of drought, the population was compelled to seek food supplies in Egypt where the permanent water supply from the Nile permitted irrigational farming. Throughout its history the economy of the Canaanite culture area remained principally pastoral-agrarian. It is easily understood why the dominate religious traits in Canaan were in fact the fertility-cult relating to the recurrent seasonal crises in the agricultural year and man's efforts to enlist divine help in supplying his primary needs: reproduction of family, fields and flocks.[39]

The History of the Canaanite Culture Area

Cultural periods:- Data derived from non-written sources is the sole means of information on the Canaanite culture area prior to the second millennium B.C. Beginning with the Middle Bronze Age written documents are available pertaining to events in the area.

The beginnings of culture can be traced to a number of sites in the culture area. The tool industry of the Paleolithic cultures are

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38. Schaeffer, C. F. A., Ugaritica, IV, Paris, 1962, p. 142.

39. Gray, John, The Canaanites, pp. 119-138.

represented at numerous open-air sites and caves.[40] Caves at Mt. Carmel are the most important with their early flint industry and fossil human skeletons.[41] The economic pattern of the Paleolithic period was food-gathering. Bridging the transition from this economy to that of food-producing were the Mesolithic people known as the Natufians, so called after the Wadi en-Natuf.[42] It seems that they were the first to initiate steps in the domestication of animals and plants. They occupied rock-shelters and open-air sites, buried their dead in the settlements, utilized microlithic implements, and created a naturalistic plastic art. Natufian remains have been found by Kathleen Kenyon under the Neolithic levels of Jericho.[43] The Neolithic period is represented by the highly organized and comparatively sophisticated urban cultures at Jericho[44] and at Beida.[45] Fortifications, public buildings and a relatively high standard of material culture make for an impressive picture of early Jericho. Climate conditions and environmental resources must have been favorable to such early urbanization. Once these conditions deteriorated,

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40. For a detailed description see Anati, I., Palestine Before the Hebrews, pp. 59-135.

41. Garrod, D. A. E. and D. M. A. Bate, The Stone Age of Mt. Carmel.

42. Anati, op. cit., pp. 146-178.

43. Kenyon, Kathleen, Archaeology In the Holy Land, pp. 39-43.

44. Kenyon, Kathleen, Digging up Jericho, pp. 51-76.

45. Kirkbride, Diana, "Beidha: An Early Neolithic Village in Jordan," Archaeology Vol. 19, No. 3, June, 1966, pp. 199-207.

retrogression is in evidence at the site. The Chalcolithic period (fourth millennium B.C.) was the first to enjoy an extensive occupation throughout the culture area. The first settlement of many sites in northern Palestine which were to become tells began, and farming settlements spread throughout the semi-arid regions of the south.[46] As to the relationship between these cultural beginnings and the origin of the Canaanites, Albright states:

> "The Canaanites may well have been settled in Palestine and southern Syria as early as the fourth millennium, and we now know that their predecessors in the land were not appreciably dissimilar in race, judging from skeletal remains. The oldest towns in this region, whose foundation is dated by clear archaeological evidence before 3000 B.C. at the latest, already bear such excellent Canaanite names as 'Jericho,' 'Beth-Shean,' 'Beth-Yerah,' 'Megiddo.' The Phoenician cities, such as Accho, Tyre, Sidon, Sarepta, Byblos, Acre, Simyra, virtually all have good Semitic names, often names which may be called specifically Canaanite. Even in the extreme north of Canaan, Ugarit, Gabala, and many smaller towns bear names which are certainly or probably Canaanite."[47]

The anthropological and linguistic types of these early men will, of course, never be known. However, it can be concluded from the existence of towns with Semitic names, that Semites undoubtedly settled in the region at an early date. The Bronze Age is the period of Canaanite history which is best known through the archaeological materials.

Most of the large Canaanite towns were founded in the third millennium B.C., The Early Bronze Age. Large public buildings have been

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46. Anati, op. cit., pp. 285-314.

47. Albright, W. F., "The Role of the Canaanites," G. Ernest Wright (ed.) The Bible and the Ancient Near East, p. 443.

uncovered in the strongly fortified cities of Megiddo, Ai and Khirbet Kerak. Further, fragments of huge walls have been found at Jericho, Dothan, Tell el-Far'ah, and Beth-Shan. These fortifications testify to the existence of city-states; whether there existed external threats or internal rivalries, we do not know because of the lack of epigraphic materials.[48] Since only partial areas have been excavated at these sites, it is not possible to gain a clear picture of the material culture. Flint was the most common material for implements. Some copper was used, but the evidence points to a scarcity of metal. Small temples have been found at Megiddo and Jericho, and a large sanctuary cleared at Ai. No cult objects or figurines were found. The population was sustained by an agricultural economy, and there is little evidence of trade. What evidence there is, it is Egyptian interest which is attested, particularly in the cedar trees of Lebanon.[49] The Early Bronze Age civilization comes abruptly to an end in the 23th century. All of the Early Bronze Age sites investigated shows the same break; initiating a gap in occupation which lasts until the Middle Bronze Age. The termination of this early urban civilization was wrought by the arrival of a people not interested in town life, since they left no trace of occupation at the sites of settlement.

To Kathleen Kenyon the evidence suggests an intrusive people with

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48. Aharoni, op. cit., p. 123.

49. Gray, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

new customs, people who had been nomads.[50] This migratory movement into the Canaanite culture area is a stage comparable with the First Intermediate Period of Egypt.[51] For this reason Paul Lapp strongly defends the designation "Intermediate Bronze Age" for the intrusive culture.[52] Similarly, Kenyon calls the period Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze, emphasizing a transitional rather than an intrusive culture.[53] This nomadic intrusion into the culture area was not unique; all of the lands of the Near East experienced the same phenomenon. The Nomadic population is considered to be predominantly Amorite.[54] Aharoni observes:

> "Similar pressures were exerted from the West upon Mesopatamia which put an end to the kingdom of Akkad and the final remnants of the Sumerian kingdoms. Akkadian texts refer to these new Semitic-speaking invaders as the men of Amurru, i.e. Westerners, who were known in the Bible as Amorites, Palestine and Syria were called the land of Amurru, the West Land, and the Mediterranean was known as the Sea of Amurru, the Western Sea. There is, therefore, no doubt that the invading wave at the beginning of Middle Bronze was part of the Amorite migration. In other words, they represent a population speaking a west Semitic language who came in as nomads and gradually settled down to a sedentary life."[55]

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50. Kenyon, Kathleen, Amorites and Canaanites, p. 33.

51. Kenyon, Kathleen, Archaeology in the Holy Land, p. 135.

52. Lapp, Paul, The Dhahr Mirzbaneh Tombs, p. 15

53. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 136.

54. Posener, G., J. Boltero, and Kathleen M. Kenyon, "Syria and Palestine c. 2160-1780 B.C." in Cambridge Ancient History, Rev. Ed., Cambridge, University Press, 1965. Vol. I, Chapter XXI, p. 61.

55. Aharoni, op. cit., p. 126.

Knowledge of the material culture of this period comes from the distinctive pottery of the camping sites on the tells and mainly from tombs. Evidence from the tombs at Jericho point to tribal organization, each group practicing its own burial pattern. Kenyon has classified the tombs into five types: Dagger, Pottery, Square Shaft, Outsize and Bead.[56] These types seemingly indicate that the nomadic tribesmen united to invade the area but still retained individual tribal habits. The chronological limits for the Intermediate period is suggested as ranging from c. 2300 B.C. to 1900 B.C.[57] Following this period the archaeological data indicates occupational continuity in the culture area down to the end of the Bronze Age.

The Middle Bronze Age culture of the area was essentially Canaanite.[58] The first considerable epigraphic evidence of Egyptian influence in the Canaanite area date from this period. An Egyptian officer named Sinuhe found refuge in the area. In his story, he describes the abundance of fruit trees, field crops and cattle in the land.[59] The most important information for the twentieth to nineteenth centuries B.C. comes from the Egyptian execration texts. These curses

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56. Kenyon, Kathleen M., Digging Up Jericho, p. 194. Two additional types were added after further analysis, i.e. composite type and multiple-burial type. Amorites and Canaanites, pp. 19-21.

57. Kenyon, Kathleen M., Amorites and Canaanites, p. 35.

58. Ibid., pp. 53-77.

59. Pritchard, J. B., Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, pp. 19ff.

preserve whole lists of towns and tribes with which Egypt was concerned.[60] Not only do they indicate Egyptian influence in Canaan, but they indicate the nature of settlement, the ethnic identity of the people, and the political and social organization of the Amorite inhabitants of the area. Furthermore, Gray believes, these texts indicate the transition from tribes to settled communities.[61] Archaeological materials are our main source of information of the Middle Bronze period during the eighteenth to fifteenth centuries B.C. A new element, the Hyksos, can gradually be traced. They ruled from their Egyptian capital at Tanis and their control over Egypt and the Canaanite culture area was simultaneous. The Hyksos period is characterized by the introduction of the horse and chariot and the introduction of a new fortification system. Cities were surrounded with a great mound of earth, the surface of which was cemented or plastered in place to prevent erosion. Almost every city of the period has this sloping type of earthen construction. In spite of this new element with their methods of warfare and fortification, the material culture remained basically Canaanite. The architecture suggests that the city-state system was again in use, but with over-all control imposed by the Hyksos. Canaanite chieftains lived in royal palaces, surrounded by the huts of the serfs. A great number of these palaces and patrician houses have been excavated.[62] The palaces consist of a court,

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60. Ibid., pp. 328-329.

61. Gray, op. cit., p. 29.

62. Albright, W. F., The Archaeology of Palestine, pp. 92-93.

surrounded by numerous rooms, with living quarters in a second storey. The most unusual finds of the Middle Bronze Age are the tombs of Jericho, found perfectly sealed with all deposits, including food and furniture, intact.[63] This Middle Bronze Age picture provides the background for the period of the Hebrew patriarchs. It comes to an end in 1580 B.C. when the Egyptians drove back the Hyksos in an attempt to recover control over the Canaanite culture area.

The culture of the Middle Bronze Age continues on into the Late Bronze Age. The distinction between the two periods is political, not cultural. Canaanite city-states simply transferred their allegiance from their Hyksos rulers to the Egyptian pharaohs. Local Canaanite rulers were permitted to remain in power so long as they yielded to Egyptian authority. Egyptian interest was solely centered on maintaining control of the trade routes and the steady flow of tribute into the Egyptian treasury. Egypt had no desire to influence the Canaanites culturally or religiously. The main sources of documentary information have been found in Egypt. These consist of the records of Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Seti I, Ramses II and Merneptah.[64] A considerable amount of valuable information about the culture area is derived from these campaign documents, particularly concerning the major Canaanite cities in the plains and valleys which were located along the key trade route. Additional literary evidence concerning the land of Canaan has been

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63. Kenyon, Kathleen M., Digging Up Jericho, pp. 233-255.

64. Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 234.

furnished by the el-Amarna Tablets. These texts reflect continuing Egyptian authority in Canaan during the fourteenth century B.C. and furthermore, give a fairly detailed picture of the important Canaanite centers and their areas of influence.[65] Beside listing the cities of the plains and valleys, the Amarna texts include towns from the interior regions. Jerusalem and Shechem apparently dominated the central hill area. All of these literary sources point to the Late Bronze Age as a period of Egyptian domination. The archaeological evidence from the Canaanite sites in the area indicate destruction levels which may reasonably be ascribed to the Egyptian campaigns. Beyond this surface of Egyptian authority there existed a Canaanite culture, evidenced by the rich discoveries of archaeology. Increased trade contacts between the Canaanite culture area and the rest of the eastern Mediterranean is attested by the presence of great quantities of Cypriote and Mycenaean pottery. Albright suggests that this ware indicates a date between 1400 and 1230, soon after which importation ceased.[66] The architectural traditions of the Middle Bronze Age changed little during the Late Bronze Age. However, writing came into greater use; the Canaanites using the Accadian script and language.[67] Numerous finds of religious significance have come to light; temples have massive walls, and plaques and figurines of the nude goddess Asherah are the most common. It has been noted that

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65. Ibid., pp., 483ff.

66. Albright, op. cit., p. 99.

67. Ibid., pp. 101-102.

Canaanite art traditions of the Late Bronze Age lack creativity and individuality; being subject to foreign influence.[68] Recent discoveries at Ugarit indicate a far richer art tradition than might be supposed from the sites in Southern Canaan. With the invasion of the Sea Peoples and the Hebrews, Canaanite culture comes virtually to an end. Canaanite culture was in the area from 1900 B.C. and remained virtually Canaanite until the end of the Late Bronze Age. This culture the infiltrating Hebrews found and archaeology indicates that they adopted it.

Peoples:- A wide ethnic variety in the culture area is attested in the literary sources of the Middle and Late Bronze periods:

> "The Amarna Tablets and others of the same period from Taanach and Shechem in Palestine and contemporary administrative texts from Ras Shamra attests in their nomenclature a wide ethnic variety. In the Amarna tablets certain names are Amorite (e.g. Mutba'lu, Milkilu, Shammu'adda, etc.), others are Indo-Iranian (e.g. Shuwardata, Yashdata, Rucmanya), and others again are Hurrian (e.g. Widia, Taddua, Abdi-Khipa). . . . In Palestine proper among the names of the Amarna Tablets eleven at least are certainly Aryan, nineteen certainly Semitic, and three or four possibly Hurrian. The extent to which these non-Semitic elements were representative of the general population of Canaan is uncertain."[69]

No ethnic name has been handed down which was native in the area. All indications, archaeological, geographical, linguistical, indicate the various groups lived a separate life; only language built a definite bond

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68. Anati, op. cit., p. 424.

69. Gray, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

of unity.[70] The Bible, also, indicates a wide ethnic variety listing Hittites, Hivites, Perizzites, Girgashites, Jebusites, Amorites and Canaanites.[71] Some of these groups appear to be more important than others; the major groups are certainly the Amorites and the Canaanites.

In spite of this ethnic variety, the material remains discovered in the area from Ugarit in the north to Lachish in the south, displays a remarkable uniformity. The whole of the eastern Mediterranean littoral was one cultural area. When the Bible refers to the area as a whole, Canaan is used as a collective name for all the sedentary population.[72] However, the area east of the River Jordan was clearly considered to be Amorite at least as far north as the Yarmuk (Joshua 12:1-5), as was the hill-country west of Jordan (Numbers 13:29). The residents of the coastal plain, the valley of Jezreel, and the Jordan Valley were presumably Canaanites (Numbers 13:29). The Amorites were hill-dwellers, the Canaanites plain-dwellers. The picture of two cultural areas divided by the Jordan Rift is that which in fact is given by the archaeological evidence.[73]

Archaeological Research at The Selected Sites

Scientific archaeological investigations in the Canaanite culture

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70. Noth, op. cit., p. 243.

71. Gen. 15:19-21; Ex. 3:8, 17; 13:5; 23:23; Nu. 13:29; Deut. 7:1; 20:17; Josh. 3:10; 12:8; 24:11; Judges 3:5; I Kings 9:20; Ezra 9:1; Neh. 9:8.

72. cf. Nu. 33:51; Josh. 14:1.

73. Kenyon, Kathleen M., Amorites and Canaanites, p. 3.

area have contributed an immense amount of information to our understanding of the nature and history of the ancient sites. These investigations have not been limited to the cultural materials, but have included environmental knowledge which is essential to the best understanding of the activities within the culture area.

Geographical setting of the sites:- All of the selected sites, except Jericho, are located in the fertile Mediterranean zone. This means that under normal climate conditions there was sufficient rainfall to sustain the populations. They were an agricultural people; tilling the nearby fertile plains and terracing the slopes of the hill country for the cultivation of trees. Food-producing activities were essential to the maintenance of the local economy at these sites.

Jericho, in the semi-arid zone, could not trust its economy to the available rainfall since it is never sufficient for agriculture. The great natural asset of Jericho was its spring, "a spring which must take its source in some underground reservoir fed by rains up in the Judaean hills, and which gushes forth perennially to irrigate the fields of Jericho."[74] Therefore its food-producing economy was dependent not upon the sparce rainfall, but upon the irrigation of the fertile alluvium soil of the Jordan Valley.

The history of the sites was also influenced to a considerable degree by the geopolitical relationships with neighboring areas. As the land-bridge of the ancient Near East, the culture area's strategic value lie in the network of roads which were important to international

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74. Kenyon, Kathleen M., Digging Up Jericho, p. 25.

commerce and military action. This network of roads encouraged political and economic unification, often under the authority of a foreign power. Three types of roads may be distinguished: (1) international highways; (2) intra-regional roads; (3) local trails.[75] Hazor, Megiddo, and Lachish were situated on or near the international highway. It enters the area in the north at Hazor and swings southwest via the Plain of Megiddo to the coastal plain and into Egypt. "Thus we can understand the great value of the Palestinian coast for controlling this important international route, as well as the decisive position of Megiddo at the main junction."[76] Lachish is located in the Shephelah, a buffer zone of lowlying hills between the coastal plain and the hill country in the southwest corner of the country. The history of these sites is wrapped up with the international activity of the great coastal route. Jerusalem (Jebus), Gibeon and Dothan were situated on or near the north-south route of the hill country. It follows approximately the watershed, and the deep wadies on both sides prevent any deviation to the left or right. This road served the internal needs of the country by connecting it with the international routes. Jerusalem was a crossroads center connecting the coastal plains in the west with Jericho and the Jordan Valley in the east. Gibeon guards the way through the Valley of Ajalon, the most important of all the routes up into Judaea and the North-South hill road from the plain. Dothan is situated

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75. Aharoni, op. cit., p. 39.

76. Ibid., p. 49.

on the eastern end of the fertile Plain of Dothan. It was a crossroads town connecting the Valley of Jezreel with the coastal plain, thus providing a southern alternate route around Megiddo. Also, Dothan connected the Valley of Jezreel with Shechem via the north-south hill road. Jericho is located on a north-south trail along the Jordan Valley. This trail went north from Jericho to the Valley of Beth-Shan. Since passage past the Dead Sea is difficult the route never was considered significant. However, Jericho's significance was associated with the important east-west road from transjordan, across the valley and westward to Jerusalem and the coast. Thus control of Jericho was vital to any nomads invading from the eastern desert into the fertile regions of the west. The significance of prehistoric Jericho appears to be associated with trade. Salt, bitumen and sulphur were raw materials to be found in its vicinity and favored the development of Jericho as a key trade-center.[77]

Archaeological activity at the sites:- Each of the selected sites have had extensive archaeological undertakings except Dominus Flevit which is not an occupational site, but mortuary. The bulk of the work was accomplished in a 35-year period, from 1925 to 1960, by qualified scholars. Various organizations in Germany, England, France, United States and Israel have demonstrated their interest in the archaeological research of the area through their sponsoring and financial support. The excavations at Megiddo and Jericho have been extensive,

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77. Anati, op. cit., pp. 248-250.

being carried on at different periods by different archaeologists. This has permitted the checking and testing of value judgments made by previous investigators. Also, more advance scientific techniques have been employed by each successive expedition. A composite of this archaeological activity is organized and graphically presented in Figure 1.

FIG. 1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY AT THE SELECTED SITES IN THE CANAANITE CULTURE AREA

SITE	LOCATION	DATES	ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH ARCHAEOLOGIST	ORGANIZATION
Jericho	Tell ex-Sultan, 10 m. n. of Dead Sea, 17 m. ENE of Jerusalem	1907-1909 1930-1936 1952-1958	E. Sellin and C. Watzinger J. Garstang K. Kenyon	Pal. Exp. Fund., Deutsch Orientg., Liverpool Un., British School of Arch., Am. Sch. of Oriental Research
Dominus Flevit	Jerusalem, 14 m. W. of Dead Sea, 33 m. E. of Med. Sea, Tomb located at Mt. of Olives	1954	P. Lemaire and S. Saller	Franciscans of the custody of the Holy Land
Gibeon	Tell el-Jib, 5 m. n. of Jerusalem	1956, 1957 1959, 1960, 1962.	J. Pritchard	University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.
Lachish	Tell ed-Duweir, 15 m. west of Hebron, 30 m. SW. of Jerusalem	1933-1938	J. L. Starkey	Wellcome - Marston Archaeological Expedition.
Megiddo	Tell el-Mutesellim, S.W. side of Plain of Jezreel, 20 m. from Haifa	1903 1925-1939 1958-1960	G. Schumacher J. Breasted, C. Fisher (1925-27) P.L.O. Guy (1927-35), G. Loud (1935-39). Y. Yadin	German Palestine Society. Rockefeller Grant. U. of Chicago Oriental Institute Com. for Preservation of Antiq. of the Israel Government
Hazor	Tell el-Qedah, 5 m. sw. of Lake Huleh 10 m. N. of Sea of Galilee	1926-1928 1955-1959	J. Garstang Y. Yadin	James A. de Rothschild - Hebrew University Archaeological Expedition.
Dothan	Tell Dotha, 13 m. N. of Shechem	1953-1964	J. Free	Wheaton College Archaeological Expedition.

CHAPTER THREE

THE LITERARY TEXTS AND CANAANITE BURIAL RITES

Until recently our knowledge of Canaanite culture depended mainly on Biblical data and a few late Phoenician inscriptions, (latter half of the first millennium B.C.) as well as the literary works of Lucian of Samosata (A.D. 150), Philo of Byblos (A.D. 160) who utilizes the earlier descriptions of Sanchiniathon who lived before the Trojan War, and the writings of John of Damascus (6th century A.D.).[78] The Biblical data was the most important and accurate. Yet this information was limited by the polemical stance of the Hebrew prophets and writers who expressed great indignation at "the abominations of the Canaanites." The worship of Yahweh was constantly contaminated, undermined, and endangered by the worship of the gods of Canaan. In the first half of the twentieth century A.D. archaeological research in Syria and Palestine reconstructed a clearer and more objective picture of Canaanite culture. This research includes the discovery of abundant evidences of the material culture and numerous epigraphical materials. The most significant are the texts from Ras Shamra, ancient Ugarit. Gray points directly to this comprehensive value of Ugaritic literature:

> "A clear picture of Canaanite civilization from its inception and formative period at the end of the third

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78. Gray, John, The Canaanites, p. 119.

> millennium to its apogee in the fourteenth-thirteenth centuries could almost be reconstructed on this epigraphic evidence alone, and indeed, for the last phase, on the evidence of the Ras Shamra texts alone, so tremendously significant are they."[79]

Description and Nature of the Literary Texts

Ugaritic literature:- Ugarit was discovered quite by chance. A Syrian farmer was plowing his land in 1928 when his plow uncovered the remains of a Mycenaean tomb. Eventually, excavations were begun in the necropolis near Minet al-Baida, a small harbor nearby. The tell is farther inland and is known by the modern name of Ras Shamra, "Fennel head." Excavations of the site have been undertaken by the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettre de Paris under the direction of Claude F. A. Schaeffer. Traces of five main strata have been discovered: Stratum I, c. 1500-1100 B.C.; Stratum II, c. 2100-1500 B.C.; Stratum III, c. 3500-2100 B.C.; Stratum IV, c. 4000-3500 B.C.; Stratum V, the Neolithic Age. All epigraphic indications identify this site with the ancient city of Ugarit.[80] Stratum I yielded the most important textual materials for the study. A library situated near the Temple of Baal and the Temple of Dagon housed the texts; the largest collection of texts was devoted to religious themes. The Ugaritic texts also include business documents, legal tablets, private letters, diplomatic correspondence,

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79. Ibid., p. 24.

80. Kapelrud, Arvid S., The Ras Shamra Discoveries and the Old Testament, p. 5.

military dispatches, veterinary texts and administrative texts.[81] The religious texts are by far the most interesting and for the most part were accounts of the life and activities of the Ugaritic gods.

Various classifications have been suggested for the religious texts of Ugarit: myths,[82] legends or sagas,[83] cultic texts,[84] royal cultic texts,[85] social myths,[86] nature myth[87] and literary

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81. Ibid., pp. 5-7.

82. Eissfeldt, O., "Mythus und Saga in den Ras Shamra Texten," Arabistik, Semitistik, und Islamswissenschaft, 1944, pp. 275ff.

83. Ibid., pp. 275ff.

84. Hvidberg, F. F., Weeping and Laughter in the Old Testament, p. 13. Hvidberg's thesis may be appropriately indicated in his own words: "The present paper deals first with the contents of the lengthy texts from Ras Shamra which tell of Ba'al's death and return to life and his accession to the throne, and then tries to determine the nature of the texts. They are cultic texts. Their importance lie first and foremost in the fact that they give us a direct insight into the ancient Phoenician-Canaanite cult. It is presumably the drama of the Old Canaanite autumn feast we have before us. The two great emotional manifestations of the feast are the weeping over the dead god and the laughter on his return to life and his divine marriage."

85. Engnell, Ivan, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East, Uppsala, 1943. Engnell holds that the Ugarit texts must be interpreted in terms of a cultic pattern intimately connected with the king, who was regarded as of divine origin and who also played the part of the god in the dramatic enactment of the texts.

86. Gray, John, The KRT Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra, p. 6. Gray suggests that the social customs and institutions were conserved (e.g. the wedding of the king) by their insertion into myth. Therefore, he classifies the KRT text as 'social myth.'

87. Gaster, Theodor H., Thespis: Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East, p. 122. Gaster shows how the texts were related to the annual seasonal cycle which was presented dramatically. He regards the Poem of Baal as a nature myth and its theme is the alternation of the seasons.

myth.[88] In spite of these divergent classifications it is clear that the religious literature is divisible into two main categories: epics and myths. Gordon clarifies this convenient division, which was suggested earlier by Eissfeldt,[89] by regarding epics as concerned about men and myths about gods. "The myths have a few, if any, human characters in them; but the epics, while dealing with mortals, portray the gods as dealing with the human dramatis personae and affecting their destiny as in all epic . . ."[90] In addition to the epics and mythological texts, there is a number of tablets which are religious in character.[91] The administrative texts contain personal names which are theophoric. Offering-lists and ritual texts attest to the many gods worshipped and offerings made. The three major literary texts from Ugarit essential to the study of burial practices are: The Epic of Keret, the Legend of Aqhat and the Baal-Anath Myths.

The Epic of Keret is a legend about a king called Keret, who lost his entire family and feared that his line might die. One of his many concerns is for an heir to perform the necessary rites after his death and to ensure the continuance of his name. El, the father-god of the Canaanite Pantheon, gives Keret instructions on how to obtain issue.

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88. Ibid., p. 257. Gaster identifies the Poem of Aqhat as that of developed literary myth. "No one who reads this text will doubt that in the form in which it has come down to us it was never formally acted and probably not even formally recited as a liturgical chant. It is a piece of literature pure and simple."

89. Eissfeldt, op. cit., pp. 275ff.

90. Gordon, Cyrus, Before the Bible, p. 134.

91. Gordon, Cyrus, Ugaritic Literature, pp. 107-108.

Eventually sons and daughters are born to him. With the passing of time, Keret falls ill. Keret's illness, with its threat of death, fills his son with unhappy thoughts: It is possible for a divine king to die like man? Keret's plight is bewailed by his offsprings. Finally, the king is cured and restored to his throne. Meanwhile, one of his sons, induces him to give up his throne because the king has been neglecting his kingly responsibilities. Keret warns his rebellious son that he will receive divine chastisement for his presumption. The rest of the epic is lost.

The Legend of Aqhat concerns the heroic king Danel who longed for a model son to tend him in his old age, to perform the proper rites after his death and maintain the worship of the family ancestors. Danel was blessed by the birth of a son, Aqhat. The god of arts and crafts, Kothar-and-Hasis, constructs a beautiful bow for Aqhat. The goddess Anath, sister of Baal, covets the bow and promises Aqhat wealth and even immortality for it. Aqhat refuses to give the bow to her. Permission to assassinate Aqhat is eventually received by Anath and thereby get his bow. Aqhat is slain, but the bow is broken and falls into the water. Baal withholds the rain and the crops fail. Danel searches for the remains of Aqhat, finds them in a crop of an eagle and properly buries them in a tomb. He then holds mourning ceremonies which last seven years. It is impossible to tell whether Aqhat was restored to life since the text is lost at this point.

The Baal-Anath Myths are made up of a number of fragmented texts and numerous difficulties exist in any attempt to reconstruct them into

a literary unit. The main concern of the myths is fertility; the theme of the dying and reviving gods was not seasonal, but concerned with a sabbatical cycle - seven-year cycles of fertility and sterility. The Baal-Anath texts record the struggle between Baal and the sea-god Yamm for the vacant throne. Baal is victorious and desires a palace in which to live up to his newly won position. After Baal's palace is prepared, he is challenged by Mot, the god of death, who kills him. During his absence rain ceases and life on earth fails. An elaborate description of mourning rites follows. Eventually Baal is restored by the help of his sister Anath, who defeats Mot. With Baal's return to life nature responds with abundance once more.

Biblical Literature:- The Hebrew Bible is also essential to any delineation of burial practices inasmuch as both the Hebrews and the Canaanites belonged to more or less the same cultural environment, and they were inevitably influenced by it. At times the influence was so extensive there was constant need of reformation in Israel lest it should be dominated by Canaanite ideas, words, expressions and cultic practices. The Hebrew Bible reflects this Canaanite background.[92] As far as the literary influence is concerned, Cyrus Gordon has indicated its nature:

> "The Ugaritic tablets confront us with so many striking literary parallels to the Hebrew Bible that it is universally recognized that the two literatures are variants of one Canaanite tradition. To the Hebrew writers, however, the mythology is often little more than a literary background on which to draw for poetic imagery. . . ."[93]

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92. cf. Deut. 14:1; Judges 2:11-23.

93. Gordon, Cyrus, The Ancient Near East, p. 94.

Furthermore, he states that the Ugaritic Literature

> ". . . lies closer than any other literature to the Hebrew Bible. . . . This does not mean that the ethical and moral heights reached in the Bible are to be found in Ugarit. The analogies are literary rather than spiritual. Indeed the Hebrew view is to be a great extent a conscious reaction against the Canaanite milieu."94

The investigator discovered no single explicit reference to a Canaanite burial rite recorded in the Hebrew Bible. Instead, all references are implicit and are found in the Hebrew regulations which are reflections of the Canaanite practice in a negative form. Hebrew practice forbids cutting the flesh, a normal part of the Canaanite mourning rite; "Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you: I am Jehovah."[95] This regulation is what Van Gennep identifies as a negative rite;

> "The latter (negative rites distinguished from positive rites), now known as taboos, are prohibitions, commands 'not to do' or 'not to act.' Psychologically, they correspond to negative volitions, just as positive rites are the equivalents of positive volitions. In other words, taboos also translate a kind of will and are acts rather than negations of acts. But just as life is not made up of perennial inaction, so by itself a taboo does not make up a ceremony, let along a magic spell. In this sense a taboo is not autonomous, it exists only as a counterpart to a positive rite. In other words, every negative rite if considered in isolation has its own individuality."96

Many of the Hebrew rites are, therefore, a reaction against the Canaanite

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94. Ibid., p. 99.

95. Leviticus 19:28.

96. Van Gennep, Arnold, The Rites of Passage, pp. 8-9.

practices, which are to be seen implicitly in the statement of the Hebrew negative rites.

This introductory description has summarized the type of literary texts available for this study. We now attempt a description of the nature of the literary statements or allusions to death and burial.

Fragmentary state of the texts:- It should be noted first that none of the Ugaritic epics or myths have been recovered in their entirity. The fragmentary state of the tablets raise obstacles, especially in translation. Furthermore, the determination of the order of the tablets cannot be settled with certainty. In spite of these handicaps, there are pieces of considerable length which run unbroken. Therefore the outlines of the accounts as well as the details can be clearly made out. It is difficult to assess how much information regarding burial practices is lost to us due to the incomplete state of the tablets.

Major passages:- There are three loci classicus in the Ugaritic Texts that describe burial practices.[97] The fullest description of mourning rites in ancient Canaan is furnished by the Baal-text, (g. I * AB (vi)) and (h. I AB (i)). The primary description of the burial of the dead is in the Legend of Aqhat, (AQHT C (iii)). In the Epic of Keret additional insights into the Canaanite mourning rites will be found, (KRT A (i)) and (KRT C (i-ii)). Scattered throughout these three main texts are additional statements which allude to the Canaanite attitude toward death, funeral feasts, tomb vaults, etc. All of these literary

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97. "Ugaritic Myths, Epics, and Legends," Ancient Near Eastern Texts, pp. 129-155.

statements will be presented in the discussion below. It is obvious that the literary texts do not give a complete picture of Canaanite burial practice. The material remains of the archaeological data reveal traits which were taken for granted by those who wrote. No literary descriptions of any significance were discovered which described the place of burial nor the placement of the corpse, tomb form or burial deposits. This information must come from excavation.

Major emphasis:- Mourning, as a rite of transition,[98] receives excessive description and included ostentatious rites for the expression of sorrow and grief. Such activity was considered appropriate behavior and was determined by ritual, be the deceased a god or mortal. It is fortunate that the major portion of textual evidence associated with burial practices concentrates on the rites of mourning and lamentation. This type of evidence is not found in excavation.

The implicit nature of the Biblical statements has already been mentioned above. These statements, though they be negative rites, are important to this study in that they describe many Canaanite rites omitted in the Ugaritic texts.

The Attitude of the Living Toward the Dead

Ritual obligations relating to the crises of human life (birth, marriage and death) are an integral part of all ancient Near Eastern

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98. Van Gennep, op. cit., p. 147.

societies. On the evidence of the Ras Shamra texts, death disrupted the Canaanite community and demanded readjustment. Rites were designed to indicate a suspension of the normal state of society until readjustment was effected. How did the Canaanite view death? How was the corpse of the deceased treated? And what ceremonies attended the disposition of the deceased? The answers to these pertinent questions are to be found, in part, in the literary texts.

Meaning of death:- Death was viewed as the normal end of the temporal life but not the absolute end of life. Any existence after death was viewed as a negative prospect. This attitude toward death and the afterlife is unequivocally stated by Aqhat whom the goddess Anath tempts by glowing promises of immortality:

> "Then quoth the Maiden Anath:
> 'Ask for life, O Aqhat the youth.
> Ask for life and I'll give it thee,
> For deathlessness, and I'll bestow't on thee.
> I'll make thee count years with Baal,
> With the sons of El shalt thou count months. (i.e.
> Shalt be immortal like them.)
> And Baal when he gives life gives a feast.
> Gives a feast to the life-given and bids him drink;
> Sings and chants over him,
> Sweetly serenades him:
> So give I life to Aqhat the Youth."
> But Aqhat the Youth answers:
> "Fib not to me, O Maiden,
> For to a youth thy fibbing is loathsome.
> Further life - how can mortal attain it?
> How can mortal attain life enduring?
> Glaze will be poured on my head,
> Plaster upon my pate; (i.e. my hair will turn white)
> And I'll die as everyone dies,
> I too shall assuredly die."[99]

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99. ANET, p. 151 (AQHT A (vi)).

Aqhat turns down the offer of immortality, adding bluntly, that Anath cannot confer such a gift since old age and death are the normal lot of all men, including himself.

Death and the after-world were described in picturesque terms. To be dead was to be at "sleep" or "at rest." In the Legend of Aqhat, Danel threatens the eagles that, if they fly over aqhat's grave in the hope of removing his corpse, Baal will break their wings and breast-bones:

> "Then lifts up his voice and cries:
> 'The wings of the vultures may Baal break,
> May Baal break the pinions of them,
> As they fly over the grave of my son,
> Rousing him from his sleep.'"[100]

The Hebrew-Bible describes death in the same fashion. The Psalmist states: "Consider and answer, me O Lord my God; lighten my eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death."[101]

Job describes man's end as sleep:

> "But man dies, and is laid low;
> man breathes his last, and where is he?
> As waters fail from a lake,
> and a river wastes away and dries up,
> So man lies down and rises not again;
> till the heavens are no more he will not awake,
> Or be roused out of his sleep."[102]

Likewise, Jeremiah uses sleep to describe death:

> "They shall roar together like lions;

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100. ANET, p. 154 (AQHT C (iii)).

101. Psalm 13:3.

102. Job 14:10-12. cf. Job 3:17.

They shall growl like lions' whelps.
While they are inflamed I will prepare them a feast
and make them drunk, till they swoon away
And sleep a perpetual sleep
and not wake, says the Lord."[103]

The Ugaritic texts personify the after-world or netherworld (Mot) as a greedy monster with gaping jaws.

"One lip to earth and one to heaven,
He stretches his tongue to the stars.
Baal enters his mouth,
Descends into him like an olive-cake,
Like the yield of the earth and trees' fruit."[104]

Word-pictures in the Hebrew Bible represent Hell (Sheol) simply by a wide-open mouth. Isaiah states:-

"Therefore Sheol has enlarged its appetite
and opened its mouth beyond measure,
and the nobility of Jerusalem and her multitude go down,
her throng and he who exults in her."[105]

The picture recurs in Proverbs 1:12: "like Sheol let us swallow them alive and whole, like those who go down to the pit." Similar is the Psalmist's "as a rock which one cleaves and shatters on the land, so shall their bones be strewn at the mouth of Sheol."[106] Life in the netherworld is described as an existence where food is mud and dirt and where there is constant thirst and languor. Mot's invitation to Baal includes such a definition:

"The gods did depart and stayed not; then
Gupn-and Ugar verily set their faces

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103. Jeremiah 51:38-39.

104. ANET p. 138, (Baal, g. I * AB (ii)).

105. Isaiah 5:14.

106. Psalm 141:7.

toward Baal in the heights of the north
and answered: "The message of Mot son
of El, the word of the hero loved
of El (is this): 'its nature (is that) a sheep
excites the desire
'of a lioness; lo! the appetite of a dolphin (?)
'(is) in the sea; lo! the wild oxen make
'for the pools, the hinds make for the spring!
'Lo! truly, truly I have wasted (my) life,
'truly I eat mud (grasping it)
'with both my hands. Lo! seven
'portions are cut up; lo! the cup is
'mixed. And now, Baal, revel (!) with
'my brothers and take thine ease, Hadad,
with my kin
'and eat bread with my brothers
'and drink wine with my kinsfolk."[107]

If Baal joins Mot at his feast of the dust and mud of the nether-world, Mot will have him in his power; for whoever eats and drinks there can never return to the world above. The inertness of the dead has interesting Biblical parallels. The Psalmist complains that he is 'reckoned among those who go down to the pit; I am a man who has no strength, like one forsaken among the dead."[108] Job describes the inhabitants of the netherworld as being "weary" and "at rest."[109] Death, according to the Canaanite attitude, was the lot of all men and the abode of the dead was characterized as a subterranean region where there is inertia, thirst and dirt for food. Therefore, death was not conceived as the absolute end of life, nor did it effect the complete annihilation of conscious vitality. There is the allusion to a river which prevents access to the world below and is the scene of man's

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107. Driver, G. R., Canaanite Myths and Legends, pp. 103-105.

108. Psalm 88:4-5.

109. Job 3:17.

judgment after death. In the Baal text, Ashtar reports to El that Kathir and Khasis are building a palace for 'judge nahar': "Quickly build the house of Yamm, erect the palace of judge nahar."[110] The reference to 'judge nahar' may allude to a water-ordeal myth. Driver suggests this idea: "The Ugaritic 'judge river' is a title which reflects the myth that the trial of the souls of the dead before admission to the nether-world takes place on the bank of the world-encircling river or ocean."[111]

Extent of death:- According to the Canaanite attitude, no sphere was exempt from death. Death is the lot of all mankind and is expressed in Aqhat's response to Anath: "I'll die as everyone dies."[112] The plant and animal world was not excluded from such a fate. In fact, the burden of the myths is concerned with the dying vegetation and the regularity of the normal climate cycle. Gods were not even exempt from the fate of death; it is reported to El that "Puissant Baal is dead, the Prince, Lord of Earth, is perished."[113] It appears that the gods could not die a natural death, but could perish through violence. This apparently is the case in the struggle between Mot and Baal, though the tablet is fragmentary and the actual description of Baal's death is missing.[114] However, Anath seizes Mot,

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110. ANET, p. 129 (Baal Text, b. III ABC).

111. Driver, op. cit., p. 12, fnt. 7.

112. ANET, p. 151 (Legend of Aqhat, Aqhat A (vi)).

113. ANET, p. 139. (Baal Text, g. I * AB (vi)).

114. Ibid., p. 139.

cuts him up and throws the pieces, like grain from a winnow, to the birds, who eat them:

> 'She seizes the godly Mot
> with sword she doth cleave him.
> With fan she doth winnow him
> with fire she doth burn him.
> With hand-mill she grinds him -
> In the field she doth sow him."[115]

Death was a destructive power shared by all: man, plants, animals and even the gods. No one escaped death.

One of the difficult questions the Canaanite had to confront was the death of the king. This question must arise in any society that accords divine status to mortals. Such a perplexity is expressed in the son's probe of his kingly father Keret:

> "Wilt thou die then, father, like the mortals,
> . . . shall, then, a god die,
> an offspring of the Kindly One not live?"[116]

Whether or not Canaanite society considered the king to be divine is open to discussion.[117] It is clear, however, that the king's health had a bearing upon the well-being of the life of the community. Keret's son's words are more than the natural emotional reaction to the death of a parent: "In thy life, our father, we rejoiced, exulted in thy not dying."[118] The threat of death made the prince wonder about Keret's divine status. Such a sentiment was expressed by the Hebrews toward

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115. ANET, p. 140 (Baal-Text, h. I AB (ii)).

116. ANET, p. 147 (KRT C (i-ii)).

117. Gray, J., The KRT Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra, p. 8.

118. ANET, p. 147 (KRT C (i-ii)).

their king who was "the breath of the nostrils" of his people.[119]

Life could be prolonged:- Allusions in the Epic of Keret imply that the hour of death could be postponed and life lengthened through ritual or acts of piety. Pertaining to Keret:

> "Like a dog thine aspect is changed,
> Like a cur thy joyous countenance.
> Wilt thou die, then, father, like the mortals,
> . . .
> 'Who among the gods can remove the illness,
> Driving out the malady?'
> None among the gods answers him.
> Then spake the Kindly One, El Benign:
> 'Sit ye, my sons, upon your seats,
> Upon your thrones of princeship,
> I will work magic.
> And will surely compass
> The removal of illness,
> Driving out the malady.'
> -With clay his hand he fills,
> With goodly clay his fingers.
> (El instructs a female being called Sha'taqat to visit and cure Keret) . . .
> Death, on the one hand, is broken;
> Sha'taqat, on the other, has prevailed."[120]

Even though Keret's life was prolonged, he would eventually have to face the ultimate death-experience shared by all mankind. The Hebrew Bible indicates that life can be lengthened through godliness. The Decalogue enjoins: "Honor your father and your mother, that your days may be long in the land which the Lord your God gives you."[121] Proverbs 10:27 expresses the same admonition: "The fear of the Lord prolongs life. . . ."

The appropriateness of dying with gray hair is attested both in

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119. Lamentations 4:20.

120. ANET, pp. 147-149 (Epic of KRT, KRT C i-vi).

121. Exodus 20:12.

the Ugaritic Literature and the Bible. Aqhat's response to Anath's offer of immortality included reference to the hoary head; "Glaze will be poured on my head, plaster upon my pate (my hair will turn white.)"[122] David's final words to Solomon in regard to Joab mention the gray hair: "Act therefore according to your wisdom, but do not let his gray head go down to Sheol in peace."[123] Textual allusions indicate that gray hair is emblematic of a long life. Due to the hostile climate which eroded monuments and paintings, no pictorial evidence illustrating the gray hair befitting the dying has been discovered in the Canaanite culture area.

Treatment of the corpse:- Certain things were done after a death; one of the most important being the disposition of the corpse. Upon hearing of Aqhat's death, Danel was concerned for the recovery of his corpse in order that he might proceed with a proper burial: "I'll weep and inter it, lay't in the hollows of the earth-ghosts."[124] Such concern for proper burial is also seen in Anath's actions following the death of Baal.

> "Up to Zaphon's fastness she brings him,
> Bewails him and buries him too,
> Lays him in the hollows of the earth-ghosts."[125]

Care of the corpse is thus seen to be crucial for the fate of its ghost.

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122. ANET, p. 151 (AQHT A (vi)).

123. I Kings 2:6.

124. ANET, p. 154 (AQHT C (iii)).

125. ANET, p. 139 (Baal Text, h I AB).

Furthermore, such care could be interpreted as an act of loyalty and kindness; to go unburied would be a terrible end (cf. Gen. 47:29f, II Sam. 2:5). Anath's love for Baal as expressed in her action at his burial is given in simple words:

> "Like the heart of a cow for her calf,
> Like the heart of a ewe for her lamb,
> So's the heart of Anath for Baal."
> (h. I AB (ii)).

However, no care is taken to preserve the body, as in Egypt. The decomposed bodies discovered in the tomb excavations bear this out.

The burial of the corpse was undertaken immediately following death, in a spirit of grief and sorrow. Anath buries Baal's corpse immediately and then proceeds with a rite of sacrifice. Similarly, Danel immediately buries the remains of Aqhat and then proceeds to mourn for a period of seven years, with the assistance of weeping-women.[126] With no motivation to preserve the body, it was interred immediately so as not to contaminate the living. Elaborate mourning rites always attended the burying rite and following the disposition.

Ceremonies:- Certain dominant features of the Canaanite burial ceremony may be discerned in the Ugaritic texts. These rites are associated with the crisis events surrounding death and are manifested in religious and social behavior. The Anthropologist Van Gennep identifies these ceremonies as "rites of separation, rites of transition, and rites of incorporation."[127] The texts which most extensively elaborate the

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126. ANET, p. 155 (AQHT C (iv)).

127. Van Gennep, op. cit., p. 11.

rites are presented in full.[128]

The Baal Text g. I * AB (vi) and h. I AB:

"We came to the pleasance of Dabr-land,
To the beauty of Shihlmemat-field.
We came upon Baal
Fallen on the ground:
Puissant Baal is dead,
The Prince, Lord of Earth, is perished.'
Straightway Kindly El Benign
Descends from the throne,
Sits on the footstool;
From the footstool,
And sits on the ground;
Pours dust of mourning on his head,
Earth of mortification on his pate;
And puts on sackcloth and loin cloth.
He cuts a gash with a stone,
Incisions with . . .
He gashes his cheeks and his chin,
He harrows the roll of his arm
He plows his chest like a garden,
Harrows his back like a plain.
He lifts up his voice and cries:
'Baal's dead! - what becomes of the people?
Dagon's son! - what of the masses?
After Baal I'll descend into earth.'
Anath also goes and wanders
Every mount to the heart of the earth,
Every hill to the earth's very bowels.
She comes to the pleasure of Dahr-land,
To the beauty of Shihlmemat-field.
She comes upon Baal.
Fallen on the ground:
She puts on sackcloth and loincloth.
. . .
She cuts agash with a stone,
Incisions with . . .
She gashes her cheeks and her chin,
She harrows the roll of her arm
She plows her chest like a garden,
Harrows her back like a plain.
She lifts up her voice and cries:
'Baal's dead! - what becomes of the people?

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128. Translation of texts in ANET, pp. 129-155.

Dagon's son! - what of the masses?
After Baal I'll descend into earth.'
Then weeps she her fill of weeping;
Deep she drinks tears, like wine.
Loudly she calls
Unto the Gods' Torch Shapsh.
'Lift Puissant Baal, I pray,
Onto me.
Hearkening, God's Torch Shapsh
Picks up Puissant Baal,
Sets him on Anath's shoulder.
Up to Zaphon's fastness she brings him,
Bewails him and buries him too,
Lays him in the hollows of the earth-ghosts.
She slaughters seventy buffaloes
As a tribute to Puissant Baal;
She slaughters seventy neat
As a tribute to Puissant Baal;
She slaughters seventy small cattle
As tribute to Puissant Baal;
She slaughters seventy deer
As tribute to Puissant Baal;
She slaughters seventy mountain-goats
As tribute to Puissant Baal;
She slaughters seventy roebucks
As tribute to Puissant Baal."

The Aqhat Text - AQHT C (iii):

"Samal's wings Baal doth break,
Baal doth break the pinions of her.
She doth fall down at his feet.
So he splits her belly and gazes.
There is fat,
There is bone.
Taking them for Aqhat he weeps,
Weeps and inters him.
He inters him in (a dark chamber in a shroud)[129]
Then lifts up his voice and cries:
The wings of the vultures may Baal break,
May Baal break the pinions of them,
An they fly over the grave of my son,
Rousing him from his sleep.'

Danel goes to his house,
To his palace Danel betakes him.
Into his palace come weeping-women,
Wailing-women into his court Pẓġm ġr.
He weeps for Aqhat the Youth,
Cries for the child, does Danel the Rapha-man.

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129. Driver, op. cit., p. 63. Reconstruction of text is difficult due to fragmented text.

From days to months, from months to years
Until seven years,
He weeps for Aqhat the Youth,
Cries for the child, does Danel the Rapha-man.
But after seven years,
Danel the Rapha-man speaks up,
Ghazir the Harnaniyy-man makes answer.
He lifts up his voice and cries:
Depart, weeping women, from my palace;
Wailing-women, from my court Pẓġm ġr. 130
(and men that gash your flesh from my courtyard).

The KRT Text - KRT A (i):

". . . The house of a king is destroyed,
Who had seven brethren,
Eight mother's sons.
Keret in offspring is ruined,
Keret is undermined of establishment.
His lawful wife he did find,
His legitimate spouse.
He married the woman, and she 'departed.'
Flesh of kinship had he:
One-third died in health,
One-fourth of sickness;
One-fifth pestilence gathered unto itself,
One-sixth calamity;
One seventh thereof fell by the sword.
He sees his offspring, doth Keret;
He sees his offspring ruined,
Wholly undermined his seat,
And in its entirety a posterity perishing,
And in its totality a succession.
So he enters his cubicle and weeps
An inner chamber and cries.
His tears do drop
Like shekels to the ground.
His bed is soaked by his weeping,
And he falls asleep as he cries.
. . . Like a dog thine aspect is changed,
Like a cur thy joyous countenance.
Wilt thou die, then, father, like the mortals,
Or thy joy change to mourning,
To a woman's dirge, O father, my song?
For thee, father, weeps the mount of Baal,
Zaphon, the sacred circuit.

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130. Driver, op. cit., p. 65.

The mighty circuit laments,
The circuit broad of span;
'Is, then, Keret a son of El,
An offspring of the Kindly One, and a holy being?"
Into the presence of his father he goes,
Weeping bitter tears,
Giving forth his voice in weeping;
"In thy life, our father, we rejoiced,
Exulted in thy not dying.
But like a dog thine aspect is changed,
Like a cur thy joyous countenance.
Wilt thou die then, father, like the mortals,
Or thy joy change to mourning,
To a woman's dirge, O father, my song?
How can it be said, 'a son of El is Keret,
An offspring of the Kindly One, and a holy being'?
Shall, then, a god die,
An offspring of the Kindly One not live?"

The Baal text, although it deals with mourning for and burial of a god, reflects human burial customs, which are described in the Epic of Keret and the Legend of Aqhat. Van Gennep's three rites of passage are to be found: restricted social intercourse being a rite of separation; mourning being a rite of transition for the survivors; and the lifting of mourning and the funeral feast being a rite of reincorporation. Such rites provided for the readjustment of Canaanite society.

Restricted social intercourse and abstention in bereavement are observed as a rite of separation by Keret in his mourning for the loss of his family and in reference to his 'meat of isolation.' Keret entered his inner chamber or private cubicle as an act of ritual seclusion and there weeps in private. Following this social obligation of isolation Keret is instructed by El to mount a high tower and there offer sacrifice to him. The sacrifice was to include his 'meat of seclusion' which he ate in his seclusion as a mourner:

"Go into the shelter of the pens,

Take a lamb in thy hand,
Even a lamb for sacrifice in thy right hand,
A kid from the enclosures,
The whole of thy meat of seclusion."[131]

By sacrificing all this food Keret broke all association with his ritual seclusion. Eventually, Keret's son states an evaluation of Keret's status: "Like a dog thine aspect is changed." Gray questions the translation of 'klb' as 'a dog' and suggests the passive participle Kalub, referring to persons ritually confined or 'screened off.'[132] Danel also, being childless, withdraws to ritual isolation in the sanctuary where he is attired in a ritual vestment ministering to the gods:

"Gives oblation to the gods to eat,
Gives oblation to drink to the holy ones.
A couch of sackcloth he mounts and lies,
A couch of loincloth and passes the night.
Behold a day and a second,
Oblation to the gods gives Danel,
etc. . . .
. . . But lo, on the seventh day,
Baal approaches with his plea:[133]

It is possible that this incubation at a sanctuary was not done as a mourning rite, but rather as a means of securing revelation.[134] An act of washing formally ends the restricted social intercourse of the bereaved. In the case of Keret, El instructs him to cease weeping and wash:

"And Bull, his father El replied:
'Enough for thee of weeping, Keret;

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131. Gray, op. cit., p. 12.

132. Ibid., p. 64.

133. ANET, pp. 149-150 (AQHT A (i)).

134. Driver, op. cit., p. 182.

Of crying, Belove, Lad of El.
Do thou wash and rouge thee.
Wash from hand to elbow,
From thy fingers up to the shoulder.
Enter the shade of a pavilion."[135]

Following this washing rite Keret is able to perform his normal functions in society. David observed similar rites of seclusion and washing at the death of his son by Bathsheba: "Then David arose from the earth, and washed, and anointed himself, and changed his clothes; and he went into the house of the Lord, and worshipped."[136] Social life is suspended for all those affected by bereavement.

Mourning rites are associated with the transitional aspects in a crisis experience such as death. The anthropologist Van Gennep identifies mourning as "a transitional period for the survivors, and they enter it through rites of separation and emerge from it through rites of reintegration into society (rites of the lifting of mourning)."[137] Keret entered into the rites of transition by mourning for the loss of his family at the time of his ritual seclusion, a rite of separation.

The components of the mourning ritual are many and varied. Upon receiving the report of death there was weeping and crying. This, of course, was the natural expression of personal feelings, and the greatest exclamation of grief. Anath weeps bitterly for Baal: "Then

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135. ANET, p. 143 (KRT A (ii)).

136. II Samuel 12:20.

137. Van Gennep, op. cit., p. 147.

weeps she her fill of weeping; Deep she drinks tears, like wine."[138]

Keret weeps during his seclusion for the loss of his heirs:

> "His tears do drop
> Like Shekels to the ground.
> His bed is soaked by his weeping,
> And he falls asleep as he cries."[139]

Similarly the poet states:

> "I am weary with my moaning;
> every night I flood my bed with tears;
> I drench my couch with my weeping."[140]

Keret's wife invited the Lords to a feast in order that they may weep for Keret as for the dead:

> "For Keret they do weep,
> Even as spake the peers.
> They weep as one weeps for the dead."[141]

Here, Keret is treated as though he were dead and weeping is an integral part of the ceremony. Eventually the son enters the presence of his ill father, "weeping bitter tears, giving forth his voice in weeping."[142] Keret bids his son not to shed tears over him but to call his sister, whom he knows to be full of pity, to weep for him:

> "My son, weep not for me,
> Do thou not wail for me.
> Waste not thine eye with flowing
> The brain in thy head with tears.
> Call thy sister Thitmanet,

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138. ANET, p. 139 (Baal Text, h. I AB).

139. ANET, p. 143 (KRT A. (i)).

140. Psalm 6:6.

141. ANET, p. 146 (KRT B (v)).

142. ANET, p. 147 (KRT C. (i-ii)).

A maid whose passion is strong,
Let her weep and wail for me."[143]

After the discovery of Aqhat's remains, Danel weeps:

"Taking them for Aqhat he weeps,
Weeps and inters him."[144]

Weeping is the great emotional manifestation associated with the burial practice.

Garments were rent and sackcloth was worn. In mourning Baal's death, El tears his clothing and puts on sackcloth.[145] Danel and Paghat give vent to their sorrow at the death of Aqhat by weeping and rending their garments:

"Paghat weeps in her heart,
Cries in her inward parts,
She rends the garment of Danel the Rapha-man,
The vestment of Ghazir the Harnamiyy-man."[146]

Sackcloth and loincloth were suitable for mourning apparel for both men and women. El and Anath both wear such apparel at the death of Baal.

Mourning for the deceased takes place sitting or lying on the ground. At the time of the messengers announcement to El that Baal is dead, El goes down and sits in mourning upon a footstool, and then proceeds to sit on the ground. Keret is in a lying position, soaking his bed with his tears, as he mourns the loss of his family. In his vision Ezekiel was taken to Jerusalem and there he saw women sitting, weeping

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143. ANET, p. 147 (KRT C (i-ii)).

144. ANET, p. 159 (AQHT C (iii)).

145. Driver, op. cit., p. 109.

146. ANET, p. 153 (AQHT C (i)).

for Tammuz.[147] Such a prostrate position would symbolically represent being 'brought low' and being in a state of complete grief and sorrow. To add to this pitiful state, earth was placed on the head. After El's descent to the ground, he "pours dust of mourning on his head, earth of mortification on his pate."[148]

It was a practice to inflict wounds. El inflicts himself with frontal and dorsal lacerations in deep expression of grief:

> "He cuts a gash with a stone,
> Incisions with . . .
> He gashes his cheeks and his chin,
> He harrows the roll of his arm.
> He plows his chest like a garden,
> Harrows his back like a plain."[149]

Such self-inflicted lacerations, likewise, are a part of Anath's mourning rite.

Over the dead there were cries and laments. El cries:

> "Baal's dead! - What becomes of the people?
> Dagon's son! - What of the masses
> After Baal I'll descend into earth."

Anath echoes this same lamentation. Similarly, Danel cries out in lamentation following the burial of Aqhat:

> "The wings of the vultures may Baal break,
> May Baal break the pinions of them,
> An they fly over the grave of my son,
> Rousing him from his sleep."[150]

These appear to be set phrases for use in cultic lamentation. It is

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147. Ezekiel 8:14.

148. ANET, p. 139 (Baal Text, g. I AB (vi)).

149. ANET, p. 139 (Baal Text, g. I AB (vi)).

150. ANET, p. 153 (AQHT C (iii).

impossible, due to the nature of the literature, for the investigator to attempt to elucidate if such ritual lamentation was employed in private lamentation. However, the fact of personal lamentation is well attested, both in the case of Danel[151] and in the feeling of grief Keret has for the loss of his family,[152] (cf. I Kings 13:30, Gen. 50:10).

In the mourning rites, the predominance of the ritual aspect over the psychological led to giving a very important place to professional mourners. Both the Legend of Aqhat and the Epic of Keret reflect the function of women as professional mourners. The employment of women in this role may be explained by their greater emotivity and sensitivity. After the death of Aqhat, Danel returns to his palace where he and professional female mourners bewail the death:

> "Into his palace come weeping-women,
> Wailing-women into his court Pẓġm ġr."[153]

"To a woman's dirge"[154] implies the role of women in lamentation. Gray suggests that what is implied in the phrase. "To a woman's dirge" might be a derogatory reference to 'vain repetitions' which also are a feature of lamentation.[155] Keret's son goes on to say "For thee, father, weeps the mount of Baal . . . the mighty circuit laments." This reference to the weeping of the holy mountain and of the gods may be a

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151. Ibid., p. 153.

152. ANET, p. 143 (KRT A (i)).

153. ANET, p. 155 (AQHT C (ii)).

154. ANET, p. 147 (KRT C (i-ii)).

155. Gray, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

statement of the women's lament in anticipation.[156] The emphasis on weeping women to mourn for the dead is widespread in the ancient Near East. Some of the finest scenes of Egyptian painting represent female mourners.[157] It is common in the Hebrew Bible: II Samuel 1:24; II Chronicles 35:25; Jeremiah 9:17-20; Amos 5:16.

No definite time given to mourning is stated in the Baal text nor in the Legend of Kret. The Epic of Danel refers to 'seven years' of mourning:

> "From days to months, from months to years,
> until seven years,
> He weeps for Aqhat the Youth."[158]

After this seven-year state of mourning, Danel dismisses the mourning women and offers sacrifices to the gods. Such a period of mourning certainly is of epic length! (cf. Biblical periods of mourning: seven days, II Samual 14:2, Genesis 50:10; 30 days, Deut. 34:8, Num. 20:29; and, 70 days, Gen. 50:3.) Possibly it signifys a period of ritual separation and would be considered a 'rite of passage' by Van Gennep.

The lifting of mourning and the funeral feast would be 'rites of reincorporation.' The text describing Anath's mourning and search for the dead body of Baal illustrates a 'rite of reincorporation' whereby the mourning rite is concluded.[159] She prepares a funeral feast

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156. Ibid., p. 65.

157. Pritchard, James, The Ancient Near East in Pictures, pp. 209-210.

158. ANET, p. 155 (AQHT C (iv)).

159. ANET, p. 139 (Baal Text, h. I AB).

which marks the end of the mourning period. For this feast, at least according to the myth, wild and tame oxen, sheep, deer, wild goats, and asses are slaughtered seventy-fold as a funeral due to Baal. Such a funeral feast serves as a 'rite of reincorporation' and signifys that Baal is duly separated from the company of the living and united with the dead. We may assume that these mythological indications reflect human institutions; the funeral feast being the final act in the rites of passage.

Three elements are to be recognized in the mourning rites for the slain Aqhat instituted by Danel; professional mourners, sacrifice and ritual dances. These rites accompany and terminate the period of transition and serve to reincorporate the bereaved into society:

> "He lifts up his voice and cries:
> 'Depart, weeping-women, from my palace;
> Wailing-women, from my court Pẓgm ġr.
> He takes a sacrifice for the gods,
> Offers up a clan-offering to heaven,
> The clan-offering of Harnamiyy to the stars . . ."[160]
> (Three and one-half lines mutilated) . . .
> "When the dances were ended . . ."[161]

The rite of the lifting of mourning takes place in the courtyard of the palace where the professional women and the relatives were in attendance. Danel proceeds to offer sacrifice to the deities of the netherworld. Finally, the mourning ceremonies are brought to conclusion by a ritual dance. This appears to be a limping or hopping dance; a special

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160. ANET, p. 155 (AQHT C (iv)).

161. Driver, op. cit., p. 65 (i.e. dances accompanying funeral rites.)

kind of dance performed at funerals (cf. I Samuel 15:32).

The Nature of the Burial Rite

Very little data can be gleaned from the literary material for the rites associated with burial. The type of literature available limits our attempt to reconstruct the burial rite to a few salient points. It has been noted above that special treatment was given in the disposition of the body. The corpse was buried, but no effort was exerted to preserve the body, as was the custom in Egypt.

Place of burial:- Anath buries Baal in the cave of the gods in the earth which is located at Mount Zaphon:

> "Up to Zaphon's fastness she brings him,
> Bewails him and buries him too,
> Lays him in the hollows of the earth ghosts."[162]

That the place of burial should be at Mount Zaphon is in keeping with the Canaanite conception that the gods live in the north and dwell on the summit of a mountain.[163] The 'cave of the gods' serves as a city of the dead and is set aside for this purpose. The Canaanites did recognize a special necropolis for the purpose of the disposal of the dead, thereby fixing a social place where the deceased could 'sleep' in peace. The proper care and attention to the body prevented the spirit of the dead from tormenting the living. Gray's translation of AQHT C (iii) lns. 134-147 gives the fullest illustration of the rites associated with the burial of the dead:

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162. ANET, p. 139 (Baal Text, h. I AB).

163. Gaster, T. H., Thespis, pp. 169-170.

"Lifting up his eyes he beholds;
He sees Sml the mother of the vultures.
He lifts up his voice and cries.
'May Baal break the wing of Sml,
May Baal break her pinion;
May she fall at my feet
That I may split open her inwards and look
If there is any fat, if there is bone,
That I may weep and bury him,
Placing him in the cavities of the deities of the earth.'
Scarcely has the word gone forth from his mouth,
Even from his lips his speech,
When Baal breaks the wing of Sml,
Yea Baal break her pinion.
She falls at his feet;
He splits open her inwards and looks.
There is fat, there is bone.
Thereupon he takes Aqhat;
He puts piece to piece; he weeps and buries him,
He buries him in the darkness in a linen shroud."

The proper burial of Aqhat was a matter of the highest importance to Danel. Aqhat's corpse is placed in 'the cavities of the deities of the earth . . . in the darkness.' The Baal-text and the Legend of Aqhat indicate that a specific place of burial was recognized and that it was subterranean. There is no indication that the place of burial was marked by a monument. However, according to the Aqhat text, an ideal son would see to it that his father received full attention religiously to assure him an optimum after life. Therefore, the son was to erect a memorial stela to him in the sanctuary (cf. II Samuel 18:18).

Placement of the corpse:- Interment in a cave or sepulchral chamber was the practice employed in the disposal of the body. The corpse would be placed in a supine position; in an attitude of sleep.[164] There is a hint, in the Legend of Aqhat, as to the type of receptacle

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164. ANET, p. 154 (AQHT C (iii)).

used to confine the corpse: "He buries him in the darkness in a linen shroud."[165] Gordon translates knrt as "in an urn," thus, "He buries him in a sepulchre, in an urn."[166] Such a translation is in complete agreement with the archaeological evidence of burials in large store-jars. Whether Aqhat was placed in a clay jar or merely clothed with a linen shroud is not clear, however, Danel exerted a special effort to protect the corpse in its placement. To be buried without a protective covering would certainly be considered an injustice to the deceased.

Tomb form:- Cave burial is reflected in the Baal-text: "Lays him in the hollows (or hole) of the earth-ghosts."[167] Reference to rock-hewn chambers or to vaulted tombs is found in the Epic of Keret: "By slow degrees thou art growing old, and in the sepulchral cave thou wilt abide."[168] Similarly;

> "Keret assuredly is passing away,
> And thou must fashion a grave, fashion
> a grave and construct a vault
> like a treasury with a gate . . .
> like an enclosure . . ."[169]

Tomb form with a vaulted ceiling and corridor and gateway, is a feature of the palace and patrician quarters of Ras Shamra.[170] The recognition

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165. Gray, J., The Legacy of Canaan, p. 86.

166. Gordon, C., Ugaritic Literature, p. 98.

167. ANET, p. 139 (Baal-text, h. I AB).

168. Gray J., The KRT Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra, p. 28.

169. Driver, op. cit., p. 43.

170. Schaeffer, C., Ugaritica I, pp. 67-68, 77-92.

of special burial places and tomb construction implies that the living attempted to make provision for the comfort and happiness of the dead.

Burial deposits:- Ugaritic literature makes no reference to the depositing of food, furniture or personal items with the corpse. It is precisely at this point that the archaeological data (chapter four) helps us the most to comprehend the total practice of Canaanite burial rites. Deuteronomy 26:14 alludes to the custom of giving a food-offering to the dead: "I have not eaten of the tithe while I was mourning, or removed any of it while I was unclean, or offered any of it to the dead, I have obeyed the voice of the Lord my God . . ." One slight indication may be discerned in the Aqhat Legend. Gray takes smr as the Hebrew שׁמר, and translates l'pr.smr.'atrh: "even to the dust wine after him."[171] The reference would definitely be to funerary offerings.

In retrospect, the texts from Ugarit aid us very litte in reconstructing the rites of burial. Stated are such concerns as the disposition of the body in a cave or sepulchral chamber, with some form of protective covering, and possibly the placement of a memorial monument in a sanctuary. Alluded to are such practices as a city of the dead (Necropolis) - 'cave of the gods' and the presentation of a food-offering to the dead. A fuller understanding of the burial rite must await the description of the archaeological data.

Ideological Inferences: Religious and Social

Burial rites are largely structured by two influential forces:

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171. Gray, J., The Legacy of Canaan, p. 76.

religious belief and social environment. Rites for the dead symbolize and give expression to Canaanite religious belief. Furthermore, they serve to reaffirm the social character of human existence. Ceremony for the dead thus served to link the gods, man and society.

Theologically related traits:- The realm of the dead was localized by the Canaanites within the earth and controlled by the death-god Mot. Mot invited Baal to descend into the earth and to eat and drink with him in the underworld:

> "And descend to the depth of the earth,
> Be of those who descend into earth,
> and . . ."
> Puissant Baal complies.[172]

This underworld was a gloomy realm. Here the deceased eat clay and drink turbid water.[173] The underworld, also, had its own pantheon. In addition to Mot, the god of death and of the underworld, there was Lotan, the power of chaos, and Rsp the power of pestilence and death. This dark and gloomy subterranean hollow was the destination of all men after death. Aqhat replies to the promise of Anath that all men must die, and following his death, his father Danel inters him in the hollows of the earth-ghosts."[174]

The veneration of ancestors was practiced. The locus classicus for the veneration of ancestors is in the Aqhat Legend, Baal implores El

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172. ANET, p. 139 (Baal Text, g. I AB (v)).

173. Driver, op. cit., pp. 103-105.

174. ANET, p. 151 and 154.

to grant Danel a son capable of performing the proper duties towards his father during his life and after his death and of rendering due honor to his ancestors:

> "Do thou verily bless him, O bull-god my father,
> and show him favour, O creator of creatures,
> and his son shall be installed in the house and
> offspring within
> his palace, one who shall set up a monument
> to his ancestors in the sanctuary,
> protect his folk on the earth, bring forth his
> spirit
> from the dust, (who shall liberate his spirit from
> the underworld) guard his shrine, extinguish
> the life-force
> of his detractors, drive forth those who rebel
> against him,
> take his hand in drunkenness, support him
> when he is sated with wine, eat his meal
> in the temple of Baal
> and his portion in the temple of El (i.e. the
> funeral or memorial feast in his honour) plaster
> his roof when
> there is mud and wash his garments when
> they are soiled."[175]

The ritual was to be performed in the sanctuary. The actual components of this ritual in connection with the cult of ancestors is not clear. Other Near Eastern texts provide a clue and prescribe three duties towards the dead: (1) pronouncing the name, (2) offering food, and (3) pouring water.[176] The phrase "protect his folk on the earth" may reasonably refer to the offering of food and drink. The motivation for such worship would be to keep up the social relations of the living world. The ancestor would go on protecting the family, helping friends and harming enemies.

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175. Driver, op. cit., p. 49.

176. Gaster, op. cit., p. 275.

Furthermore, the ideal son would participate in the funeral or memorial feast which would be conducted in honor of the deceased. By partaking of the funeral feast symbolized and ensured relationship with the departed and at the same time cemented the ties of the kindred.

The fear of the dead may be reflected in the Keret Text where Keret is treated as dead:

> "At the setting of the sun Keret will come,
> As the sun goes down our lord;"[177]

Gray suggests that "underlying the present passage may be some such superstition as the popular Arab belief that sunset is time when the dead come to drink at wells, when no woman may sew or chew lest she be piercing or eating the flesh of the dead.[178] The concern for proper burial of the deceased in the Baal-text and Aqhat text implies that if the dead did not receive the proper care and attention, his spirit would torment the living.

The fear of the dead indicates that the dead and the living were interdependent. It was the duty of the surviving relatives to supply the departed with food and drink:

> "Who may pour out his liquid-offering to the ground,
> Even to the dust wine after him."[179]

Without these the deceased would wander about restlessly and be a potential danger. The excavations at Ugarit have shown that careful provision

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177. ANET, p. 146 (KRT A (iv)).

178. Gray, J., The KRT Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra, p. 63.

179. Gray, J., The Legacy of Canaan, p. 76.

was made in this matter. Clay water pipes leading to containers at the sides of the tomb vaults were provided for the water libations. A cup was nearby for the dead to use.[180]

Sociologically related traits:- Death was not exclusively a matter of theological concern. Death also had implications for society and human behavior. The Canaanites had a customary order of conduct in case of death.

First, the corpse must be disposed of and as soon as possible. (cf. Deut. 21:22-23). Anath's burying of Baal was immediate; likewise Danel does not hesitate to inter Aqhat's remains as soon as they are recovered. The placement of the corpse in a grave or sepulchral cave rids the living of the decaying corpse. They are spared the smells of corruption and the horror of observing the natural decomposition of a body, thereby helping to maintain a sort of image of themselves as living beings. The grave then, becomes a place where the living can symbolically maintain and express their intimate relations with the dead.

Secondly, those who are bereaved, shocked and socially disoriented must be helped to reorient themselves. Soon after a death the kinfolk enter an ecstasy of violent grief behavior. Restricted social intercourse, mourning and lamentation, and the funeral feast all assist the bereaved through the process of reorientation. By performing the proper rites the Canaanites could reintegrate themselves into society.

Thirdly, public acknowledgment and commemoration of a death,

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180. Schaeffer, C. F. A., The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra - Ugarit, p. 49ff.

while asserting the viability of the group. Canaanite society had a way of readjustment after the loss of one of its members. Following the death of the king-god, Baal, the question of a substitute is raised:

> "Loudly El doth cry
> To Lady Asherah of the Sea:
> 'Hark, Lady Asherah of the Sea,
> Give one of thy sons I'll make king.'
> . . . Replied Lady Asherah of the Sea.
> 'Well, let's make it Ashtar the Tyrant;
> Let Ashtar the Tyrant be king.'
> Straightway Ashtar the Tyrant
> Goes up to the fastness of Zaphon
> And sits on Baal Puissant's throne
> But his feet reach not down to the footstool,
> Nor his head reaches up to the top.
> So Ashtar the Tyrant declares:
> 'I'll not reign in Zaphon's fastness!'
> Down goes Ashtar the Tyrant,
> Down from the throne of Baal Puissant,
> And reigns in El's earth, all of it."[181]

Ashtar the Tyrant is designated as a substitute for Baal, allowed by El to exercise a limited sovereignty. The royal realm is brought back to a measure of normal status and relations, thereby group life is maintained. Likewise, the Aqhat text, in defining the duties of an ideal son to his father, includes paying due funeral rites to his father and then takes his place in the sanctuary at the communal meal whereby the community realizes its solidarity as a social and religious unit. The continuity of the common cult is maintained and gives society cohesion. Similarly, following the death of Aqhat, Danel and professional mourners grieve his death, after which sacrifices to the gods are offered in commemoration of the death. Pughat, Danel's daughter then proceeds to take

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181. ANET, p. 140 (Baal-Text, h. I AB).

vengeance on the murderer of her brother. In undertaking this inter-tribal vendetta, Pughat is maintaining the viability of the group. In all three instances society turns back to everyday pursuits with a sense of having done the right and proper things about the social loss. Social life recommences.

Thus on the evidence of the Ugaritic Texts, the behavior of the Canaanites in the crises of death was regulated by 'rites of separation' designed to indicate a suspension of the normal state of society. Furthermore, 'rites of transition' were practices until readjustment was effected, this being marked by 'rites of reincorporation.'

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DOTHAN BURIAL RITE IN THE LIGHT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE DISCOVERED AT SIX CANAANITE SITES

I. The Nature of the Burial Rite

The known Canaanite literary texts do not reveal a complete picture of the burial rite.[182] Their significance lies in the emotional element which they describe as occurring at the time of death. The meaning of, and the attitudes toward, death are clearly expressed, but the greatest amount of literary evidence is concerned with the rites of mourning. A fuller understanding of the burial rites is achieved when the evidence from tomb excavations is considered. Their significance lies in the ritual element which may be reconstructed from the material remains. A union of the literary evidence with the archaeological data makes possible a complete picture of the Canaanite burial pattern.

The present chapter deals with the archaeological data discovered in tomb excavations at seven sites.[183] The materials from six of the sites (Jericho, Megiddo, Hazor, Gibeon, Lachish and Jerusalem) are grouped together. This approach provides two factors: first, the uniform aspects of the burial pattern in the Canaanite culture area are readily seen and generalized; second, the local variations are obvious

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182. See Chapter Three, pp. 40-79.

183. See Chapter One, pp. 4-5.

and contrasted to the uniform pattern. The materials from Dothan are described separately. In this manner the Dothan materials are compared to the uniform Canaanite burial pattern and at the same time contrasted to that pattern in order to observe the local variations.

A. Ceremony

Death was a most significant event and the Canaanites had a clear plan for coping with the occasion. The death-event was recognized and set off by ritual and ceremony.

Mode of burial:- It is established that the only mode of burial was inhumation. No evidences whatever of cremation were found in the hundreds of tombs which have been excavated. The large number of skeletons found in burials infer that the universal practice was to inhume the body.

Funeral rites:- The ritual performed immediately after the death of a person, and also those rites of mourning and commemoration which were performed for sometime following death, would constitute the funeral rites. They are performed but once. Those rites which would be repeated on a regular basis would be classified as being essentially cultic in characteristic, corraborating Nilsson's point of view.[184] The Canaanite funeral ritual involved multiple functions. A summary description would include the following salient features.

The body would be removed by relatives, who served in the role

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184. Nilsson, M. L., The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion, pp. 585-586.

of undertaker, to a shaft-chamber tomb which would be located in the limestone escarpment adjacent to the settlement. The bones of earlier burials would be unceremoniously swept to the rear of the chamber, thereby providing space for a fresh burial. This accounts for the disorder which was universally observed.[185] These were family tombs and it is reasonable to suppose that this is what the Bible implies when it states 'lying down with' or 'being gathered to one's fathers.'[186] Generally the body would be placed on the floor of the chamber, either in an extended or contracted position, without regard to a fixed orientation. In some instances, special installations were installed for the placement of the corpse. The center area of Jericho Tomb H-6 was occupied by a dais or platform of a single course of large, thick, mud-bricks. A mud-brick pillow was provided to support the head of the corpse.[187] Tombs J-14 and P-21 had similar installations.[188] Preparation of the mud-bricks for the platform was done at the tomb as proven by the remains of a wooden form used to make one of them.[189] Megiddo Tomb 20 contained a bed of small stones and earth upon which lay a skeleton.[190] The fact that the skeletal position and burial deposits were unique,

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185. cf. Kenyon, Jericho I, p. 488; Tufnell, Lachish IV, p. 37.

186. cf.(Gen. 25:8; 35:29.) Gray, John, The Canaanites, p. 81.

187. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 454; Digging up Jericho, p. 240.

188. Kenyon, Jericho II, pp. 312 and 428.

189. Ibid., p. 314.

190. Guy, P. L. O., Megiddo Tombs, p. 72.

some significance may be attached to the specially prepared bed of stones and earth. The installation of stone platforms is noted in two tombs from Gibeon. Tomb 58 contained a stone platform of one large flat stone and many small stones; the skeletons of two children rested upon the installation.[191] In Phase III of Tomb 15, a bed of ten flat stones, white limestone and hard black stones, was situated at the north side of the chamber.[192] The skeletal remains on the stone-bed were partly disturbed. There is no evidence from the selected tombs that coffins were employed for burial. However, at Jericho, a few bodies were left on wooden beds.[193] It was a common practice to place the corpse on a rush mat, as indicated by the fragments preserved in large numbers.[194] Possibly the corpse was lowered into the chamber by means of the rush mats. Fragments of textiles and the presence of toggle pins provide evidence that the bodies were buried clothed.

Vessels, furnishings, and personal possessions were either placed round the circumference of the tomb or carefully arranged around the body. These deposits represent a full complement of articles of everyday life and were provided for the dead for their material needs in the after-life. The major types of deposits include pottery, stone and bronze vessels; implements; weapons; furniture;

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191. Pritchard, James, The Bronze Age Cemetery at Gibeon, p. 61.

192. Ibid., p. 23.

193. Kenyon, Jericho I, p. 486, cf. Digging up Jericho, pp. 243-246.

194. Ibid., p. 265, cf. p. 489.

toilet equipment; a few amulets and ritual objects. Food and drink were provided; the remains of sheep, pomegranates, shell fish being the most common foods. Several vessels in the Jericho tombs still had the skin left by the evaporating fluid intact.[195] Clay lamps were in great abundance indicating that light in the tomb was thought to be important. Many tombs have a niche halfway up the wall of the chamber for the lamp. An excellent example of this feature was discovered in Tomb 50 at Gibeon where two lamps were positioned in the lamp niche.[196] Other tombs have the niche, though the lamp has fallen to the floor; discoloration above the niche indicates burning. This was probably done as part of a funeral ritual, either to light the dead through his darkness or as a substitute for his life thereby prolonging it until the funeral and mourning rites terminated the rites of transition.

Evidence for some specific burial rites may be seen in the Megiddo tombs. Tomb 1145 consisted of two chambers, separated by a rock partition. Chamber A was void of any skeletal remains and seems to have been reserved exclusively for offerings.[197] If this was not an offering depository than it no doubt served as a storage chamber for previous deposits which were placed here in order to make room for fresh burials in Chamber B. Tomb 20 contained features which seem to indicate ritual. A skeleton, face down, lay on a bed of stone and earth.

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195. Ibid., p. 266.

196. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 54 and Fig. 90.

197. Guy, op. cit., p. 95.

Nearby was the skeleton of a sheep, probably a funerary offering. On the opposite side of the skeleton was a small circular pit partly filled with ashes, and on the floor were other traces of ashes.[198] Tomb 1178 contained two skeletons: an adult and a child. A lamb or kid skeleton was found between them. This was either an offering or a family pet.[199]

No tomb at any of the selected sites yielded evidence that burial deposits were renewed from time to time. This indicates that funeral rites were performed only on the occasion of interment and that additional offerings were not placed in the tomb in the years which followed burial.

Following interment, the doorway to the chamber was closed with a square blocking stone and the shaft filled with debris. The shaft was concealed with a coating of lime plaster; such plaster being very like the rock itself. Apparently after the doorway was blocked a toast was drunk in honor of the interred, and the vessel used for the purpose was smashed against the doorway. If this was not the case, then additional offerings were placed in the shaft before its complete concealment by the debris and plaster. Intact vessels or a multitude of sherds attest to either rite.[200] Furthermore, this material in the shaft may indicate that a funeral meal concluded the burial rite or the pouring of final libations into the chamber in a manner similar to that practiced

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198. Ibid., pp. 72-74.

199. Ibid., pp. 99-100.

200. cf. Megiddo Tombs, p. 59; Jericho I, p. 425, 472.

by the Sumerians,[201] the vessel then being placed in the shaft. It is possible that none of these interpretations is accurate and the evidence merely indicates that the vessels were thrown out when the final burial was made and became a part of the debris that filled the shaft.

Reuse of tomb:- When a second death in the family occurred and the tomb was to be used again, the debris in the shaft and the blocking stone were removed and the corpse and its deposit were placed in the chamber. The multiple successive burial practice was universal throughout the culture area during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. It was not the general practice to clear a tomb chamber thoroughly before a later burial was interred. Previous burials and deposits were brushed to the sides of the chamber unceremoniously, leaving a clear space toward the front for the new burial. This practice resulted in a mound of bones and deposits along the sides of the chamber, and toward the front a few burials intact and in their original position.[202] These latter intact burials represent the final interments. In some instances the decomposition of the earlier bodies was not complete. Some bones remain in articulation suggesting that flesh was still attached at the time of the disturbance. Furthermore, this would indicate that the time interval between primary and secondary burials was not very great.[203] Another practice involved the removal of long bones, with the retention

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201. Woolley, Leonard, Ur und die Sintflut, pp. 46-47.

202. For examples of this procedure see: Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 58-60; Guy, op. cit., pp. 88-92; Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 315-317.

203. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 317; Jericho II, p. 298.

of the skulls.[204] In Jericho Tomb J-1 the skulls were positioned around the edge of the tomb.[205] Some significance may have been attached to the skull, such as the veneration of ancestors. Also, in the rearrangement of the skeletal remains, there would be considerable breakage of objects. Small objects would filter through to a lower position. Therefore, it is rarely possible to associate deposits with particular burials. In some instances, deposits would be thrown out into the shaft.[206] The absence of great quantities of valuable deposits would be explained by the fact that they were carried away by relatives at the time of successive burials.[207] Thus room was made for a fresh burial and his furnishings. This process was repeated every time a death occurred in a family.

In the Jericho excavations, tombs with a different character were discovered: all contained multiple simultaneous final burials.[208] These mass interments were necessitated as a result of some catastrophe such as a plague. The bodies were undisturbed and the deposits intact. Such finds are extremely important for the reconstruction of funeral rites.

Dothan Tomb-1 and ceremony:- The Dothan Tomb-1 contained the largest number of skeletons and greatest amount of deposits of any

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204. Kenyon, K., Jericho II, p. 576.

205. Kenyon, K., Jericho I, p. 263.

206. Ibid., p. 393, 425.

207. Guy, op. cit., p. 137.

208. Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 443 and 500.

single tomb studied at the selected sites. Approximately 300 skeletons and 3100 objects were removed.[209] The evidence for burial ceremony compares favorably with the universal pattern of the Canaanite culture area. Inhumation was the mode of burial. The shaft-chamber tomb is located on the western slope of the mound, about half-way up from the base of the Tell. This family tomb was in use for three centuries; 1400 B.C. - 1100 B.C.[210] The bodies were placed in the irregularly shaped chamber in an extended position, without regard to a fixed orientation. No special platform installations were installed for the placement of the body; however, six niches for bodies were cut into the sides of the chamber and two crypts were formed within the chamber by constructing stone walls.

The full complement of burial deposits is represented in the furnishings. Pottery bowls, lamps and pyxides were plentiful. No lamp niches were discovered in the chamber, however, all lamp nozzles were blackened with carbon indicating there use, as well as much ash was evident in the chamber debris indicating the presence of fire for light or a symbolic rite. All objects were typical of the everyday assemblage; no figurine or object of spiritual significance was present. Therefore, the Dothan Tomb-1 assemblage is in complete agreement with those from the selected sites; establishing further the trait that only the material needs for the dead were provided. The remains of sheep and

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209. Cooley, R., Dothan Field Report, p. 27.

210. Free, Joseph P., "The Seventh Season at Dothan," The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, (December, 1960) Number 160, pp. 11-12.

shellfish indicated the presence of food-offerings. No single evidence was observed which would indicate that provision was made for the renewal of the deposits.

The chamber entrance was sealed with a square blocking stone and the shaft filled with earth, stones and a multitude of sherds. Fragments of plaster indicate that the shaft was concealed in the universal manner. As debris accumulated over the tomb area, access to the shaft was facilitated by the addition of a stone retaining wall. Great quantities of vessels - half jars or complete rims and handles - were found on the retaining wall.[211] These represented either the remains of vessels used in the rite of the funeral toast or meal, or libation vessels. The latter interpretation seems likely in view of nearby installations which are described below.

The multiple successive burial practice was the common procedure as evidenced by the presence of approximately 300 skeletons. Earlier burials and deposits were pushed to the sides, and in some instances the long bones were "stacked" along the chamber walls.[212] The lack of valuable deposits suggest the general practice of contemporary tomb-robbing.

It is to be observed that the general format of the Dothan burial ceremony is identical to the pattern within the culture area.

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211. Free, Joseph P., "The Sixth Season at Dothan," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, No. 156, December, 1959.

212. Cooley, op. cit., p. 22, 28.

However, the Dothan Tomb-1 is not without its distinctive local variations or unique features; there being four noteworthy items.

First, a shroud of sherds covered some bodies.[213] Large-size sherds from storage jars were used as a special covering for certain burials. These provided an acceptable shroud for the deceased.

Second, unique deposits provide evidence of local craftsmanship and material possessions. Unusual lamp features include three with seven nozzles;[214] one bronze lamp manufactured in identical style to common pottery lamps of the period;[215] and, a pottery lamp with a moulded male figurine on its base, the head serving to decorate the nozzle.[216] A simply constructed kernos ring with free comunication between the ring and the seven spouts was included as a deposit and probably for libations.[217] Five zoomorphic vessels were placed in the assemblage and were fashioned with great realism.[218] All five specimens were modeled after a bull. A fuller description of these unique deposits is presented later in the discussion.

Third, an auxiliary opening or window was provided the dead in

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213. Ibid., p. 22. (cf. Tomb 19, Hazor II, p. 84. Only the skull was covered with store-jar sherds.)

214. Ibid., pp. 121 and 134; Free, Joseph P., "The Seventh Season at Dothan." Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Number 160, December 1960, p. 13.

215. Ibid., p. 204.

216. Ibid., p. 68.

217. Ibid., p. 154.

218. Ibid., pp. 61, 103, 116, 136.

order for them to be assured access to the supply of water set aside for them.[219] The window was circular in design and positioned on the front side directly above one of the chamber niches. Outside the chamber and below the opening, two large storage jars had been placed. Each jar contained a dipper juglet for the dead to receive the contents. Similar installations were discovered in the great tombs of Ras Shamra of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries:

> "The libations being made, the dead had to be assured access to the store of water set aside for them. And so a window was carefully made in the wall of the funerary vault, exactly in front of the pit . . . some tombs had a big jar built into the wall (tomb wall) itself. . . . A cup was also found which had been placed inside the jar for the dead to imbibe the contents."[220]

Such provisions give sufficient evidence for the concern of the living to provide the dead with refreshing drinks. It is also possible that the Dothan installation was used for libations. The thirst of the dead had to be quenched; libations were therefore regularly poured out to the dead. Such a concept was held by many - the Mycenaeans, Assyrians, as well as the Canaanites. Water would be poured into the chamber through the opening and then the vessels placed along the stone retaining wall of the shaft. This would account for the large number of vessels found outside the chamber. No other Palestinian site has yielded such apparatus to supply water for the thirst of the dead. The ritual purpose of these devices is clearly evident.

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219. Ibid., p. 10.

220. Schaeffer, Claude F. A., The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit, pp. 50-51.

Fourth, the mass of objects in the tomb fell into five general levels, separated by earth and limestone debris.[221] With the lapse of time, disintegrated rock falling from the roof of the chamber, and decayed matter would accumulate over the skeletons. Furthermore, earth seems to have been brought in and scattered over the skeletons and deposits, thereby providing a new floor level for the placement of fresh burials. In such cases the floor of the tomb was constantly rising, and in the course of time, the dead of a later generation were laid above their ancestors. Such a practice resulted in five rather distinct levels. However, since objects would fall through or be placed in mound fashion along the chamber walls during periods of reuse, the differentiation of the material into five levels is only roughly accurate. Similar situations have been discovered at Gibeon,[222] and at Lachish,[223] but not at Jericho.[224]

B. Site

It has been observed that the living and the dead are emotionally joined and divided by ceremonies for the dead. Also, the living and the dead were set apart materially by clearly defined physical limits. Special provisions were made by the Canaanites to distinguish

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221. Cooley, op. cit., p. 23; Free, op. cit., p. 11.

222. Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

223. Tufnell, Olga, Lachish IV, pp. 288-289.

224. Kenyon, K., Digging Up Jericho, p. 234.

the "City of the Living" from the "City of the Dead." Such a provision provided for three important functions: a recognized and established place where a decaying corpse could be disposed; a place where the living could maintain and express their intimate relations with the dead; and, a place where the living could contemplate man's fate and their own separate destinies. When a community or family ceased to use the burial site for the burial of their dead, the site lost its significance as a meaningful symbol. It became a historical site.

Use of natural caves:- During the Early Bronze Age natural limestone caves adjacent to the settlement were utilized as burial sites. Generally they were artificially enlarged and finished off for this purpose. Multiple burials were the typical practice. Specially-cut tombs are rare in the earliest phases of the Bronze Age.[225] The Intermediate Bronze Age tombs are characterized by single interrments in rock-hewn chambers.[226] With the passing of the Intermediate Bronze culture, the practice of multiple burials returned, reusing the Intermediate Bronze Age tombs or cutting new chambers in the limestone spurs. This practice of multiple burials and rock-hewn tombs continued throughout the period under study, with some caves being used. At Megiddo the shaft tomb was the predominant type during the Middle Bronze I - Late Bronze I period, but in the Late Bronze II burials in caves were once again most common.[227]

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225. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 37.

226. Kenyon, Kathleen, Amorites and Canaanites, p. 11.

227. Guy, op. cit., pp. 135-141.

Necropolis:- In general, the city of the dead was located outside the settlement area, either on the lower slopes of the tell or on the surrounding spurs. The limestone escarpments provided an ideal setting for the shaft-chamber tombs. There is no general rule of orientation of the necropolis; all directions of the compass are represented at the selected sites. The Bronze Age burials at Dominus Flevit are located in the largest cemetery of Old Jerusalem. This cemetery east of the city, is situated on the lower slope and extends eastwards across the Kedron Valley, covering the entire southern extremity of the Mount of Olives.[228] The ancient cemetery at Gibeon is on the west side of the tell. In this area there is a soft layer of limestone which could be hewn without too much effort.[229] The Megiddo tombs are located on the east slope overlooking the fertile Plain of Megiddo and enjoy an imposing view of the surrounding countryside.[230] Tombs were found over a wide area in and around Hazor with one complex of burials being located in the Lower Canaanite City, north of the tell.[231] Cemeteries surrounded the Lachish site on all sides; area 500 was located on ground which provided the best means of access to the settlement.[232] The Jericho Tombs were located west and north of the mound in terrain which consists of

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228. Saller, Sylvester J., The Jebusite Burial Place, p. 194.

229. Pritchard, James, Gibeon, Where the Sun Stood Still, p. 138.

230. Guy, op. cit., p. 3.

231. Yadin, Yigael, et. al., Hazor I, p. 100 ff.

232. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 236.

gently-sloping soft limestone.[233] To the south and east of the site, the fertile soil is deep and too valuable for agriculture to be used for burials. Furthermore, this area would be unsuitable for cutting tombs. An analysis of all the sites indicates that the availability of soft limestone ridges and spurs, suitable for the cutting of shaft-chamber tombs, was the primary determining factor in the locating of the necropolis. Also, it is possible that other features were considered; imposing view of surroudning landscape, regular breeze patterns, access routes, and because location was unsuitable for any other activity but burial.

In addition to the cutting of new tombs, it was a general practice to reuse tombs of the preceding periods. At Jericho, eighty tombs were discovered which belong to the Middle Bronze Age. Seventy-one burials were in Early Bronze-Middle Bronze Age (Intermediate Bronze Age) tombs and only nine tombs were first dug in the Middle Bronze Age.[234] Tomb H-11 is an excellent example.[235] The earlier burials were not removed, but buried under 25 cm. of earth, which was levelled over, and the Middle Bronze burials then made on this new surface. It was a common practice at Megiddo to reuse Middle Bronze I shaft tombs in Middle Bronze II and Late Bronze I and II.[236] A similar reuse of tombs is to

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233. Kenyon, Kathleen, Jericho I, p. 1.

234. Kenyon, Kathleen, Jericho II, p. 167.

235. Kenyon, Kathleen, Jericho I, p. 470.

236. Guy, op. cit., pp. 137-138.

be noted at Gibeon. Forty-six tombs were hewn during the Middle Bronze I period; of which, twenty were used in subsequent periods.[237] Those Middle Bronze I tombs which were subsequently used were located at the outer edge of the hill. Pritchard noted that the remaining Middle Bronze I tombs which were not reused were located farther east and near to the settlement area; therefore, the shafts had been covered over with earth and debris to the extent that they could not be easily reopened by the Middle Bronze II and Late Bronze peoples.[238] Likewise, tombs were often reused by the people of Lachish.[239]

The regional concentration of burials depended upon the existing conditions at a given site. For instance, the Jericho tombs were geographically widely distributed. The tomb-diggers ranged far afield in their search for suitable limestone areas, and as a result, there is no regional grouping of contemporary tombs.[240] On the other hand, the Bronze Age cemetery at Gibeon was restricted and the tombs were found to be close together. All of the available space had been utilized by the tomb-diggers.[241] Within this region there were no Early Bronze Age or Iron Age burials. A similar picture of regional restriction was found in the Megiddo necropolis. So close were the shaft tombs that often

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237. Pritchard, James, The Bronze Age Cemetery at Gibeon, p. 66.

238. Ibid., p. 66.

239. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 227.

240. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 263.

241. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 66.

times the tomb-diggers broke into neighboring chambers, or curtailed the full digging of a tomb.[242] It has been suggested that the rock surface of a necropolis was clear of earth, thereby providing some indications to the diggers as to the location of existing tombs.[243] Also, such a situation would have aided those who planned to reuse an existing tomb to locate the earlier shaft. Special significance may have been attached to a tomb by isolating it from the others within a necropolis. Lachish Tomb 129 was cut into a space devoid of rock cuttings, possibly indicating special sanctity.[244]

Burials in settlement areas:- The discovery of burials within the borders of a settlement suggests the practice of providing a place for the dead within the community, as well as in a necropolis, without fear of defiling the occupants. A Middle Bronze brick-built tomb, and a separate infant burial were found on the tell at Jericho.[245] Kenyon suggests that the fear of desecration of the tombs might be the explanation for keeping them within the settlement. Several stone-lined tombs were discovered within the occupied area of Megiddo. Tomb 254 belonged to a child eight or ten years old and was located within the walls of a building, suggesting that the child was buried in its former

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242. Guy, op. cit., p. 33.

243. Ibid., p. 137.

244. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 229.

245. Kenyon, Kathleen, Digging Up Jericho, p. 213.

home.[246] Middle Bronze III graves were found on the mound of Lachish, as well as in the north-west settlement.[247] Burials have been uncovered over a wide living area at Hazor.[248] Oftentimes these burial chambers were incorporated into later structures erected next to them. Tomb 8065 was a single interment of an adult male, deposited under a large untooled basalt slab, in a depression in the floor of a courtyard.[249] The existence of tombs within a built-up area is not unusual during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and must be considered as an integral part of the burial pattern.

Once cisterns were no longer useful to store water due to damage they were utilized for secondary purposes such as burial. Several such burials have been located at Hazor.[250] Cistern 9024, stratum 4, contained a large number of burials with great quantities of furnishings lying nearby. Several of the skeletons had been buried one on top of the other during a fairly short period.[251]

Characteristic of the Middle Bronze Age II strata at Hazor is the existence of burials beneath the floors of the buildings.[252] Thirty-two burials were found in Buildings 6205 and 6200; twenty-one were infant

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246. Guy, op. cit., pp. 59-60. (Several tombs were found in Squares R-S, 15, a settlement area cf. pp. 56-61).

247. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 62.

248. Yadin, op. cit., pp. 100-116.

249. Yadin, et. al., Hazor II, p. 141.

250. Yadin, et. al., Hazor I, pp. 127-140.

251. Ibid., p. 128.

252. Yadin, et. al., Hazor II, pp. 81-85.

burials in store-jars with broken mouths and necks. On occasion a second broken store-jar served to cover the burial. Three adult burials were found; enclosed by small stones, or in one instance, placed in an oven (T-23). The use of the oven as a place of burial was secondary. Eight disturbed burials were identified, but their condition was such that the characteristics of burial could not be sufficiently clarified. This same practice of burying infants in store-jars beneath floors is found at Megiddo.[253]

No monument or grave-marker:- No stele or pile of stones were erected over the tombs. Apparently the Canaanites did not consider it important to identify tomb locations. Nor would it have been desirable to mark a tomb in view of its possible despoilation by tomb-robbers. Instead, every effort was exerted to conceal the tomb and its location.

Dothan burial site:- Dothan Tomb-1 is located on the west slope of the tell, outside of the Late Bronze settlement.[254] Seventeen to twenty-two feet of Early and Middle Bronze stratification existed above the tomb, indicating that the tomb-diggers had to cut their way through occupational debris before reaching the native bed-rock.[255] Also, the remains of an Early Bronze wall, four meters thick, had to be removed before arriving at the bed-rock. A circular stone wall surrounding the shaft served to retain the debris and provide access to the shaft proper.

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253. Guy, op. cit., pp. 57 (T-247); 59 (T-253); 60 (T-257); 61 (T-645); 87 (T-855).

254. Cooley, op. cit., p. 5.

255. Ibid., pp. 1-4; Free, op. cit., p. 10.

Up the slope from the tomb, to the east, the remains of the Middle and Late Bronze walls were discovered, indicating that the tomb was located outside the city, but extremely close to the city wall.[256] The gentle slope of limestone provided an ideal location for the necropolis. Surface indications in the nearby areas suggest that additional tombs will be discovered. A magnificent view of the surrounding Plain of Dothan may be had from this western necropolis. No monument nor marker was associated with Tomb I which would serve to identify its location.

Every indication noted during excavation pointed to the beginning of the Late Bronze II period as the point of original use of the tomb. The fact that Middle Bronze strata were cut through by the tomb-diggers further suggests that this tomb was prepared at a later date and was not a Middle Bronze tomb reused during the Late Bronze period. Only one piece of pottery could be definitely ascribed to the Middle Bronze Age; a lamp (P1146) which could well be a family heirloom.[257]

Some evidence has been uncovered in the Dothan settlement area which attests to the placement of burials within the living area. An infant burial in a jar found under a heavy wall is associated with the earliest Middle Bronze stratum.[258] A Tell el-Yehudiyeh juglet was one of

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256. Free, Joseph P., "The Fifth Season at Dothan," The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Number 152, December, 1958, pp. 4-6.

257. Cooley, op. cit., p. 55.

258. Free, Joseph P., "The First Season at Dothan," The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Number 131, pp. 16-20.

the burial deposits.

The placement of burials and tombs at Dothan is in complete agreement with the uniform pattern practiced in the Canaanite culture. No variations to that pattern were detected.

C. Tomb Architecture

Tomb types and design:- There are three main types of tombs found in the Canaanite culture area: chamber tombs; grave pits; and jar-burials. It will be convenient to describe each type and then to note additional features which relate to the chamber tombs inasmuch as this is the predominant type.

The chamber tombs are underground, cave-like graves at the foot of vertical shafts, cut in the soft white limestone in escarpments of wadis and tell-slopes adjacent to the settlements. They are composed of three parts; a chamber, an entrance, and a shaft, which is the vertical approach to the chamber. The shaft was downhill from the chamber, so as to allow the maximum depth possible for the carving of the chamber. The usual depth of the shaft was two meters. Shafts in the Gibeon tombs vary from one meter to four meters, averaging a depth of 1.76 meters; the diameter being 1.13 meters.[259] Megiddo shafts are a meter square and usually about two meters deep.[260] Sometimes the required depth is attained by means of steps. The shape of the shaft is

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259. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 4.

260. Guy, op. cit., p. 135.

either square or round, with one type dominant at a site; eg., the square shaft was typical of Meggido tombs and the cylindrical shaft was common at Gibeon. Access to the chamber from the shaft was obtained by a square entrance. This entrance resembles more a doorway than a long passageway, and was wider at the base than at the top. The average size of the entrances in the Gibeon tombs was .74 cm. high by .59 cm. wide.[261] Almost identical measurements are found in the Meggido tombs; .80 cm. high by .60 cm. wide.[262] It must have been a struggle to get the corpse through such an opening. The entranceway was usually blocked by a large blocking stone or stones. Meggido Tomb-29 is typical of this blocking procedure.[263] Two large vertically placed slabs blocked the entrance to Lachish Tomb-155.[264] The entrance to Jericho Tomb-J3 was well-blocked with a large stone and mud-bricks on top, and the whole sealed with mud-plaster.[265] It has been suggested that the use of such massive and sure blocking procedure may have been intended to prevent the dead from leaving their tombs and walking abroad.[266] The chamber, hewn entirely in the living rock, would be of varied dimensions and different shapes ranging from elliptical to circular to rectangular to bilobate and irregular. Elliptical or circular shaped chambers

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261. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 4.

262. Guy, op. cit., p. 135.

263. Ibid., p. 117.

264. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 228.

265. Kenyon, Kathleen, Jericho I, p. 308.

266. Wace, Alan, Mycenae, p. 15.

were the most common. Some rectangular chambers are represented in the area. Lachish Tomb-4004 main chamber was rectangular with well-cut corners and a flat floor.[267] Many of the chambers in the Megiddo multi-chambered tombs are rectangularly shaped.[268] A more elaborately shaped chamber was the bilobate or kidney-shape. The chamber consisted of two lobes separated by the shaft and steps. Several examples are noted at the selected sites: Lachish Tomb 153;[269] Dominus Flevit;[270] and Megiddo Tomb 1141.[271] The floor of the chamber was flat with no provision for drainage since the chambers were well-roofed. The roofs of the chambers were varied and their shape depended on the quality and hardness of the rock in which they were hewn. Most of the chamber roofs were either "slightly flat" or "slightly hipped," with a few having a domed roof.[272] In some of the Hazor tombs an aperture had been cut in the central part.[273] In some chambers niches are cut in the walls; larger niches contained bodies and the smaller niches contained objects.[274] Again,

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267. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 281.

268. Guy, op. cit., p. 136. For a contrary opinion, see Waldbaum, Jane C., "Philistine Tombs at Tell Fara and their Aegean Prototypes," American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. 70, No. 4, October, 1966, p. 334.

269. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 61.

270. Saller, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

271. Guy, op. cit., p. 94.

272. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 11.

273. Yadin, et. al., Hazor I, p. 100.

274. Guy, op. cit., p. 137; Kenyon, Kathleen, Jericho II, p. 305.

in some chambers, a bench is to be found built or carved out of the rock.[275]

Local variations to the uniform plan are few. Most significant are the Meggido shaft tombs. These tombs represent a stereotyped tomb plan, with a shaft leading into a rectangular main chamber, from which three other chambers, all approximately rectangular, open on the remaining sides.[276] No other tombs within the area can equal the Megiddo shaft tombs; either in elaborate plan or size. Two minor variations to the uniform plan are noted. First, Jericho Tombs A-34, B-35, B-3 and D-22 have unusually long passageways between the shafts and the chambers or over-size entrances.[277] Second, Megiddo Tomb 63 had a dromos and well-cut doorway, 1.5 m. in width and slightly more in height.[278] Such an elaborate approach resembles the horizontal entrance passages of the tombs at Mycenae.[279]

The grave-pits are simple shallow graves dug out in the debris of the tell or soft rock. In plan they are rectangular. The pits cut into debris have no lining and are contained by rough stones set in mud. Such graves usually contained only one body, placed on one side in the contracted attitude. Few funeral offerings are found in grave-

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275. Tufnell, op. cit., pp. 285-286.

276. Guy, op. cit., p. 136.

277. Kenyon, Kathleen, Jericho I, p. 263; Jericho II, p. 242.

278. Guy, op. cit., p. 108.

279. Wace, op. cit., p. 14.

pits. An elaboration of the simple grave-pit is also found at the sites. It consists of a masonry passage and chamber built over a pit cutting in the rock. After the burial the entrance to the chamber was sealed with stones. A greater abundance of burial furnishings were found in these graves. Megiddo Tomb 51 is the best preserved of this type.[280] Somewhat different from this masonry grave-pit is a brick-built tomb at Jericho. Though partially destroyed, sufficient remains to reconstruct the structure. The walls were built of courses of single bricks and remained standing only to a height of about 60 cm. At this point the bricks were starting to be corbelled inwards, indicating the manner in which the roof was constructed. The chamber was 7 m. by 5 m. in dimensions, and was entered on the shorter side either by a shaft or dromos. The tomb contained multiple burials with offerings and is similar in practice to most of the rock-hewn Jericho tombs.[281] Throughout the culture area the grave-pit was the tomb architecture employed when burial within a settlement area was desired. The only exception to this uniform practice is to be found in the Lower Canaanite city of Hazor.[282] Here the settlement area expanded far beyond the tell and was established on a plateau of limestone, thereby providing

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280. Guy, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

281. Kenyon, Kathleen, Digging Up Jericho, pp. 212-213.

282. Yadin, op. cit., p. 100.

a suitable situation for caves or rock-hewn tombs.[283]

The jar-burial was the standard practice for infant interrments. The small corpse was placed in a store-jar in either an embryonic or contracted position. There are exceptional instances of two infants in one store-jar. Grave furnishings were limited to a few items; small juglets being the most common. Most of the juglets were inside the store-jars, but on occasion they lay nearby. It is clear that the primary concern was to quench the thirst of the deceased child. In most instances the store-jar was split in half, from mouth to base, and only one portion of the jar used for burial. On other occasions, the lower half of a jar served as a burial receptacle. It was an extremely rare occurrence that a whole, intact store-jar was used. Jar-burials were placed beneath living areas, though on occasion one would be inserted into the chamber of the rock-hewn tombs. The use of a large cooking pot as a substitute for the store-jar was found.[284] In these instances the skeleton was small, possibly that of a new-born infant. Excellent examples of jar-burials have been located at Hazor and Megiddo.[285]

Construction techniques:- The tool marks from the cutting of

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283. cf. Lachish IV, pp. 39-43; 253-275. The north-west settlement was occupied during the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages. Caves within this settlement area were used and reused as dwelling and burial places throughout subsequent periods. There is only slight indications of occupation during Middle Bronze I.

284. Guy, op. cit., p. 60.

285. Yadin, op. cit., pp. 81-85; Guy, op. cit., pp. 57-61.

the chambers were often preserved and indicate the technique of construction.[286] The hacking was done by an oblique or vertical stroke with a metal blade 2 cm. to 5 cm. wide. Cutting edges varied, some being square and others rounded. The rounded marks were probably made by tools that were worn. To judge from a general knowledge of the implements found in Middle Bronze and Late Bronze tombs, the cutting instruments were made of copper or bronze.

The area within the chambers was sometimes divided by the use of masonry walls. Megiddo Tomb 1120 was divided into five areas by cutting a recess into the central part of the chamber and placing a single course masonry wall just inside the depression thus forming a center enclosure. Four irregular recesses remained around the sides. The excavators regarded this technique as a forerunner of the normal shaft tombs.[287] One of the chambers (T. 1145-B) in Megiddo Tomb 1145 was partially constructed by the addition of a masonry wall to complete the enclosure. The wall, furthermore, served as a partition separating Chamber B from the neighboring Tomb (T.-1141).[288] The similar use of masonry walls to make the chamber area more serviceable was practiced at Lachish. Tomb 532 was edged on the south and east sides by walls of unhewn blocks.[289] Hazor Tomb 8144-8145 was divided by a low partition

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286. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 228; Guy, op. cit., p. 137.

287. Guy, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

288. Ibid., pp. 93-95.

289. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 239.

of stones, providing the chamber with two distinct regions.[290] It should be noted that none of the Jericho tombs contained evidence indicating such partitioning of the chamber area.

Special planning and the addition of architectural features to the shaft design facilitated entrance into the tomb chamber. Two techniques were employed at Megiddo to provide footholds in the sides of the shaft: recessed and projecting.[291] It was not uncommon to find both types in the same shaft.[292] Such a facility is limited to the Megiddo tombs, although it was not exclusively used there. A more common feature at all of the sites, was to provide some type of stair facility at the base of the shaft; either steps hewn out of the living rock or adding stone or brick structures to serve as steps. Hazor Tomb 8144 was approached by five steps and Tomb 8145 by four steps cut into the limestone rock.[293] Similarly, access to Tomb 9011 was facilitated by cutting two steps into the rock.[294] There were rough steps, partly rock-hewn and partly built of stones, leading down to the floor level of Megiddo Tomb 1120.[295] No more than one step was found to be characteristic of the Gibeon tombs. In those instances where the step had

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290. Yadin, et. al., Hazor II, p. 141.

291. Guy, op. cit., pp. 33, 40, 47, 64, 88.

292. Ibid., pp. 40, 64.

293. Yadin, op. cit., p. 141.

294. Yadin, et. al., Hazor I, p. 110.

295. Guy, op. cit., p. 47.

been incorporated into the shaft plan, it was only a slight step downward to the floor level of the tomb.[296] The floor of the shaft was at the same level as the chamber floor in all other tombs. Jericho tombs exhibit the same traits: no more than one step or no step at all. In one instance (Tomb A-136) because the shaft floor was at the same level as the chamber floor, a row of stones had to be inserted as a kerb due the great accumulation of burials and deposits.[297] Therefore, it may be assumed that sites in the northern region of the culture area employed freely the use of steps to facilitate entrance to the chamber, whereas the southern sites limited their provision to either one step or none at all.

Following interrment and the filling of the shaft with debris, plaster was placed over the mouth of the shaft.[298] This plaster was the same color as the limestone and when intact would help to prevent the shaft from being discovered. In addition to this concealment feature, the plaster would make the entrance water tight.[299] Such a technique eliminated the necessity of a drainage system in the tomb.

Plaster was also used on the interior regions of the tomb. This technique was especially characteristic of the Late Bronze tombs

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296. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 4.

297. Kenyon, K., Jericho II, p. 467.

298. Guy, op. cit., pp. 40, 115.

299. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 23.

at Lachish.[300] The walls of Tomb 216 were faced with thick lime plaster and the floor was similarly treated.[301] Likewise, Megiddo Tomb 891 walls were covered with a special preparation.[302] The walls of Chambers A, C, and D were whitewashed, and those of B were covered with a thin coating of light brown mud plaster. A thin coat of whitewash covered the walls of Tomb 911.[303]

Decorations:- There was the total omission of painting or relief in the Canaanite tombs. No evidence was found that would suggest such a practice, which was so common in Egyptian tombs.[304] The absence of such tomb art is in complete agreement with the Canaanite view of life after death which was thought of in purely materialistic terms. Cultic and magical practices were for the living, not for the dead. There was no need to assist the dead in the netherworld with the addition of such artistic representations; grave furnishings were sufficient to meet the needs of the dead. Furthermore, the lack of artistic media within the tomb structure is surprising in view of the various external stimuli of art forms, especially those of Egypt.[305] The domination of Canaanite forms by artistic influences from abroad is well documented in

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300. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 234.

301. Ibid., p. 232, cf. Tomb 108, p. 227.

302. Guy, op. cit., p. 45.

303. Ibid., p. 64.

304. Badawy, Alexander, Architecture in Ancient Egypt and the Near East, pp. 46-56.

305. Gray, John, The Canaanites, pp. 161-183.

the burial deposits found in the tombs of Canaan, but these forms were never applied to the tomb structure itself. This can only be explained in view of the Canaanite attitude toward death.

Installations:- The vast majority of the tombs were constructed on a simple, uniform plan without elaborate provisions for the dead. In a few tombs special installations were provided which added to the tomb architecture or to the embellishment of the burial practice. Mention has already been made of the special provision of platforms for the placement of a body.[306] One additional description will be sufficient to emphasize this special installation. The platform in Jericho Tomb P-21 consisted of three courses of four bricks laid flat. Bricks on edge were placed along the sides; providing a high platform for one body.[307] It was not uncommon to find in the walls and floors of Megiddo tombs (877, 884, 911, 989, 1014, 1098, 1100) small holes.[308] These measured 4-10 cm. in diameter and 15-30 cm. deep, and some contained objects, usually weapons, many of which had been intentionally mutilated or "killed." Large pits were sometimes cut into the chamber floor.[309] The function for these pits is not entirely clear, since few bones or deposits have been found in them. They were perhaps for storage or were quarries used for making plaster. These pits vary in size from about

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306. See p. 82.

307. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 428.

308. Guy, op. cit., p. 137.

309. Ibid., p. 110.

50 cm. to three and a half meters in depth. Similar pits were discovered in the tombs at Mycenae and used for the storage of the bones of earlier burials.[310] Evidentally this was not the practice in Canaan since the pits were found nearly empty. Finally, stairways were installed on occasion within the tombs to facilitate access to lower chambers.[311]

An installation near Megiddo Tomb 234 has been identified as either an offering-place or cenotaph.[312] A basalt offering bowl was placed in the rock at the edge of pit-grave 234. Nearby, a similar basalt bowl was embedded in the midst of nine stone slabs. The slabs had been bedded in 5 cm. of earth which rested on natural rock. The fact that this installation was associated with several pit-graves lends credance to its identification as an offering-center or cenotaph.

Condition of tombs:- The majority of tombs excavated at the selected sites were discovered in a disturbed condition, caused either by natural or human agencies. Chambers were tightly packed with rocks and soil as a result of roof-fall. The soft limestone had given way over the centuries to pressures and decomposition. No doubt, earthquakes contributed greatly to the forces of destruction. Even if the complete roof had not collapsed, pieces of roof debris were sufficiently large to damage the grave furnishings and skeletal material. Several tombs were found to be completely silted with soil that had washed in through crevices and disturbed openings. The whole range of destructive forces

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310. Wace, op. cit., p. 15.

311. Guy, op. cit., pp. 72, 110.

312. Ibid., p. 56.

is amply illustrated in the tombs at Gibeon.[313]

Human causes of destruction were as devastating as those of nature. Quarrying was the most damaging. The same limestone which had been suitable for tombs was also desirable for building materials. Hence, later people, without regard for the dead, did not hesitate to quarry in the necropolis. Every site revealed evidence of this activity.[314] Such cuttings obscured the original shape of the tomb and disturbed its contents. A related activity also served to destroy: wall construction. Either the necropolis became a living area and walls were constructed over the tombs[315] or the area was terraced and the retaining walls covered the tombs.[316] Tomb chambers were also useful for other-than-burial functions. Burial deposits and skeletal material would be removed and the chamber used for the new activity. Tomb 911D at Megiddo was later used as a cistern or silo.[317] Gibeon Tomb 63 was completely altered as a columbarium.[318] The dislocation and disturbance of tomb furnishings and skeletal remains in these destroyed or altered tombs make it difficult for the excavator to recover the original positions of the objects as well as the shape of the tomb.

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313. Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 46, 48, 51 and 55.

314. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 235; Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 1, 4; Guy, op. cit., pp. 29, 48, 111, 116, 127; Saller, op. cit., p. 9; Kenyon, Jericho I, p. 1; Yadin, op. cit., pp. 100-140.

315. Yadin, op. cit., pp. 100-140.

316. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 235.

317. Guy, op. cit., p. 64.

318. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 64.

The clearance of such tombs demands the best technical skill possible.

Architecture of Dothan Tomb-1:- The Dothan tomb was a well cut, irregularly shaped chamber tomb located on the western side of the tell, with entrance from west to east.[319] Access to the shaft was facilitated by means of a funnel-shape masonry retaining wall. The square-cut shaft was situated on the downhill side of the chamber and was 1.51 m. deep, including three of the seven steps leading down into the chamber. The four remaining steps are within the chamber proper. Entrance to the chamber was made through a doorway wider at the base than at the top. A blocking slab of hard stone resting on a two-course wall closed the doorway. Plaster was found in the debris indicating that the shaft had at one time been concealed by this means.

The domed-roof chamber was extremely large, 5.00 m. x 8.30 m., and irregular in plan. It approximates an elliptical layout. The most striking features of the chamber are the six niches and two crypts for special burials. The niches were all approximately 1.00 m. above the chamber floor; three were cut into the north wall, one in the east wall, and two in the south wall. These niches were sealed by masonry walls. The crypts were formed by constructing stone walls below niches C and H within the chamber area. These represent a later use of the tomb inasmuch as these walls were placed over previous burials and deposits. The floor of the chamber was absolutely smooth and sloped sharply toward the east: 40 cm. of silt covered the floor at the eastern end where-

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319. Cooley, op. cit., pp. 5-24.

as only 1-2 cm. covered the western portion. Significant measurements for the tomb are as follows:

1. Shaft:
   - Width. . . . . 1.25 m. x 1.45 m.
   - Depth. . . . . 1.51 m.
     - to first step . . 1.00
     - to second step . 1.32
     - to third step . . 1.51

2. Doorway:
   - Width at base. . . . . 1.00 m.
   - Width at top . . . . . .90 m.
   - Height . . . . . 1.75 m.

3. Blocking stone:
   - Width. . . . . 1.00 m.
   - Height . . . . . 1.10 m.
   - Thickness. . . . . .12 m.

4. Chamber:
   - West to East, inside chamber walls . . . . . 8.30 m.
   - North to South, inside chamber walls . . . . . 5.00 m.
   - West to East extremeties of Niche H to shaft west wall. . 10.65 m.
   - North to South, extremeties of Niche A to Niche C. . . . . 6.90 m.
   - Roof to floor. . . . . 5.00 m.

5. Niches and Crypts:
   - Niche A. . . . . 1.20 m. x 2.80 m.
   - Crypt B. . . . . 1.10 m. x 2.30 m.
   - Niche C. . . . . 1.13 m. x 2.60 m.
     - Window:
       - Inside opening (square) .60 m. x .60 m.
       - Outside opening (circular) .20 m. dia.
   - Niche D. . . . . .81 m. x 2.25 m.
   - Niche E. . . . . .79 m. x 2.25 m.
   - Niche F. . . . . .88 m. x 2.30 m.
   - Crypt G. . . . . .80 m. x 2.20 m.
   - Niche H. . . . . 1.02 m. x 2.20 m.

The tomb was cut with a metal blade c. 2 cm. wide. Vertical and oblique stroke marks are preserved on the chamber walls. No evidence of plaster or whitewash was found on the chamber walls; nor painted or

incised decorations. The only special installations were the masonry crypts B and G, and the window provision above Niche C.[320] Natural causes served to destroy the front portion of the chamber roof. The bedrock was the thinnest at this point and evidently gave way under the impact of an earthquake,[321] leaving an opening in the roof 4.70 m. (W-E) x 4.90 m. (N-S). The mass of stone which fell wrought great destruction upon the burial deposits and skeletal remains. Fortunately, the back portion of the roof was secure and contributed to the excellent preservation of furnishings and skeletons in this area of the chamber.

The architecture of Dothan Tomb-1 compares favorably with the established architectural traits of Canaanite tombs at the selected sites. In type, it is of the common chamber plan, and in design, possesses the three key features: shaft, entrance and chamber. The significant characteristic of the Dothan chamber is its size; larger than any other single-chamber tomb thus far discovered. The fact that steps were employed freely (seven steps) is in complete agreement with the Megiddo and Hazor tombs, sites in the northern region, and in direct contrast to the limited use of steps found at the southern sites. Construction techniques are similar to those at the other sites, however, no partition installations, pits or cup-marks were found within the chamber. The window installation above Niche C is unique to the culture area, but similar to such installations in the Ras Shamra tombs. No

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320. See pages 90-91.

321. Free, Joseph P., BASOR, No. 160, December, 1960, p. 10.

decorations were found in the tomb. The partial destruction caused by the roof-fall is a typical situation and common in the areas where tombs have been hewn in the soft limestone scarps.

D. Placement of Corpse

The skeletal material found in the tombs at the selected sites is in no case published in as much detail as could be desired. Reasons for such limited information are essentially two: the hostile environmental conditions contributing to the disintegration and scantiness of the human remains; and the disinterest and lack of skill on the part of excavators in their handling of the skeletal remains. These factors limit our understanding of the practices followed by the Canaanites in the placement of their dead in burial. In spite of this limitation, some essential features can be determined.

Receptacles:- We have no evidence from the culture area that coffins were employed for the burial. The anthropoid coffins from Lachish Tomb 570 and Tomb 6032 are very late; being dated in the waning years of the Late Bronze age and threshold period of the Iron Age, and similar to coffins of the Egyptian XVIII-XX dynasties.[322] The lack of coffins in the burial practice is surprising in view of the strong Egyptian influence throughout the Bronze Age, and can only be explained on the basis of the Canaanite attitude toward the dead.

It was common practice for the corpse to be placed on a thin

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322. Tufnell, op. cit., pp. 249 and 304.

layer of soil, or else on top of piles of earlier burials.[323] This bedding layer showed more respect for the deceased than placing the remains directly on the cold, hard floor. In several of the Jericho tombs rush matting replaced the bedding layer and was generally used to shroud the bodies.[324] A bed in Jericho Tomb H-18 represents a special provision for a body and a unique trait at the Canaanite sites.[325] The use of storage-jars as receptacles for infant burial has already been noted.[326]

Position of corpse:- The placement of the body in the chamber seems to defy generalization. The dead were placed either in a more or less extended position or in a tightly contracted position on the side, without regard to a fixed orientation. Excavators of the Megiddo tombs claim that the evidence uncovered shows clearly that the fully contracted burial position, popular in Middle Bronze I, was gradually abandoned in favor of the full-length or extended position, which came in during Late Bronze I.[327] However, Kathleen Kenyon indicates that the crouched or contracted position was unusual in Middle Bronze tombs at Jericho.[328] The general position of the bodies is supine and

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323. cf. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 26; Guy, op. cit., p. 33.

324. Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 524-526.

325. Ibid., pp. 486-488.

326. See page 106.

327. Guy, op. cit., pp. 135-138.

328. Kenyon, Kathleen, Jericho II, pp. 203-204.

a predeliction for placing the knees raised. In these instances, with the knees bent, the heels rested on the floor. When advanced decay loosened the tendons and flesh, the leg bones were displaced, giving a bow-legged appearance to the lower limbs. Skeleton A in Tomb B-35 is an excellent example of this attitude of skeleton.[329] A similar position has been observed at Ras Shamra.[330] Only one speciman of a skeleton placed in a prone position is recorded in the site publications. The body in Megiddo Tomb 20 lay full length on a bed of stones and earth, face down and arms bent under the chest.[331] In summary, the evidence indicates that very little care was taken in disposing of the bodies. Where the position of the body was ascertainable, it is clear that they were placed either in a contracted side position or extended, in a supine position, without uniform orientation. In some cases the knees were raised, and the impression is that the body was simply dumped down.

Interment:- Few individual interments are to be found where the chamber tomb has been employed. Those which have been found are unusual in nature. Three single burials alone were found at Jericho. Tomb B-46 was the burial of an infant and extremely small; 0.42 m. in diameter, 0.55 m. high, and shaft 0.42 m. deep.[332] Tomb J-3 contained the burial

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329. Kenyon, K., Jericho I, p. 310.

330. Schaeffer, C. F., Ugaritica II, p. 54.

331. Guy, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

332. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 314.

of a single individual, a young adult.[333] Beside him lay the accoutrements which identified him as a warrior; bronze belt, dagger, stone pommel, and battle axe. The skeleton in Tomb D-22 was placed at the rear of the chamber and found in articulation.[334] No other bone fragments were found in the tomb suggesting that this was an individual interment. The single skeleton in the shaft of Tomb H-22 was an afterthought. This burial was placed in the shaft after the door was blocked.[335] The publications of the Megiddo, Gibeon and Lachish skeletal material are so limited in description or non-existent that isolating the individual interments is impossible. Based upon the Jericho practice, as well as the large number of multiple burials at the other sites, single interments in the chamber tombs was unusual and a rare practice. It appears that when single interment was desired that a pit-grave was employed in the case of an adult, and a jar-burial in the case of an infant.

Multiple successive interments in the same chamber was the uniform practice in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. In the larger chambers, the earlier burials were piled to the rear and sides, and in those chambers where space was too restricted for this, the successive burials were superimposed. The final burials were found in situ. These multiple interments represent family groupings; "and he slept with his fathers," is a literal description of burial custom. At all sites the

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333. Ibid., pp. 306-308.

334. Kenyon, Kathleen, Jericho II, p. 244.

335. Kenyon, Kathleen, Jericho I, p. 500.

estimate of the number of burials in each tomb was made from the number of skulls. In most cases the number was large. Jericho Tomb B-35 contained 45 skeletons, the largest number in any Jericho tomb,[336] and is an excellent example of the multiple successive burial practice.[337] The final burials were intact and located at the center and front of the chamber. The earlier burials were all disturbed and mounded round the sides and rear of the tomb. Both of the final interments represent the usual untidy disposition of a body; the skeletons were on their backs, with knees raised. The accompanying offerings were nearby. Gibeon Tomb 15 contained 14 interments;[338] Megiddo Tomb 1100 contained at least 17;[339] records are inadequate for the remaining sites to indicate their largest number of interments.

Evidence for multiple simultaneous final burials was found in a few of the Jericho tombs and probably represent the simultaneous death and burial of entire families. Adults, young people and children were included in the simultaneous interment. Ancestral burials were pushed to the sides and the final burials were placed across the cleared space of the chamber. A communal supply of grave furnishings were placed round the chamber walls. Tomb H-18 is an excellent example of this type of interment.[340] A family group, two adults and eleven children, were

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336. Kenyon, Kathleen, Jericho II, p. 550.

337. Kenyon, Kathleen, Jericho I, p. 369-371.

338. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 2.

339. Guy, op. cit., p. 141.

340. Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 486-490.

buried at the same time. The earlier burials were swept into a pile at the rear of the chamber. One adult of the family group was lying on a wooden bed, situated in the center of the chamber with a table loaded with food beside him. At the back of the tomb, was the body of the second adult, presumably the wife. The skeletons of the children were distributed over the chamber floor. Since the limbs were so intricately interwined there can be little doubt that they were all interred together. It is probably that disease of some sort, as Kenyon indicates, was responsible for the simultaneous death of the family.[341]

Condition of skeletal material:- No positive evidence of embalming was found in the chamber tombs excavated, and it seems certain that this art was not practiced by the Canaanites. In only one instance do excavators claim the possibility of mummification.[342] Around two skeletons, in Megiddo Tomb 911B, there was a considerable amount of white, limey-looking substance, and on the legs several fragile flakes of what appeared to have been skin and flesh. Such evidence has been interpreted as possibly indicating an attempt to preserve the body. Certainly one instance in hundreds of skeletons does not indicate a practice; on the contrary, it proves that embalming was an intrusive element. No doubt, it was imported from Egypt, tried but once and then abandoned.

There is a wide range in the condition of skeletal material

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341. Ibid., p. 267.

342. Guy, op. cit., p. 67.

found. Kenyon's scheme to describe the state of preservation of the Jericho skeletons during the Intermediate Bronze Age aptly reflects similar conditions during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages.[343] The scheme includes the following conditions: completely disarticulated; a few bones in articulation; large portions of the body in articulation; and, skeleton intact. The most common condition reported in the site publications was either that the skeletal material had disintegrated or was in complete disarticulation. In the Jebusite burial chamber at Dominus Flevit, bones were extremely few.[344] Descriptions of the Megiddo material indicate the same condition; the material was fragmentary, and not even a single skull was found entire. The best preserved portions were lower jaws and long bones.[345] Such fragmentation and disarticulation was due to the natural process of decay, and more importantly, to the disturbance caused by multiple successive burials. These factors made it difficult for the excavators to determine the condition of the skeletal remains at the time of burial. In spite of this limitation, more complete records and accurate descriptions could have enhanced most of the tomb publications. The superior treatment of skeletal material at Jericho indicates the value of such data to the reconstruction of burial practices.

In some cases, more or less, portions of the skeleton remained in articulation. This condition indicates that the body was disturbed

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343. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 202.

344. Saller, op. cit., p. 8.

345. Guy, op. cit., p. 192.

before the flesh had completely decayed. Portions of the body, therefore, remained articulated following the disturbance. Limbs and skulls were usually dissociated from the rest of the skeleton. The Jericho Tomb J-1 evidence is typical of this condition.[346] In several cases the vertebral column and sacrum are in articulation, and in one case the trunk, pelvic girdle and femur are in position. But in no case is the skull attached to the vertebrae. In some tombs, evidence for the special tratement of the skull was found. Eleven skulls were piled together in Lachish Tomb 6027.[347] In Jericho Tomb J-20 almost all of the long-bones were thrown out, but sixteen skulls were identified and were evidentally treated with more care.[348]

Few skeletons are found intact. Whenever this condition existed it suggested that either the burials were simultaneous, or succeeded the earlier ones at such short intervals that the earlier ones had not yet decayed; or, were the final interment. Of course, undisturbed burials were always found intact. Twelve skeletons in complete articulation, nine adults and three children, represent simultaneous burial in Jericho Tomb H-11.[349] Further, skeleton H-116 in Megiddo Tomb 911A is representative of complete articulation.[350] Skeletons found in pit-graves or

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346. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 427.

347. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 301.

348. Kenyon, K., Jericho II, p. 411.

349. Kenyon, Jericho I, p. 471.

350. Guy, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

jar-burials were usually intact.[351]

Additional data for the study of skeletal remains is found in the Jericho excavations and is unprecedented in the Canaanite culture area: flesh, hair, and brain. This phenomenon is explained on the basis that an accumulation of gas in the chambers killed the organisms of decay.[352] Flesh was mainly observed in the body cavities. Tomb G-1 is notable for the preservation of traces of flesh.[353] The whole body cavity of skeleton R was full of a dark brown substance which was undoubtedly the remains of flesh. This same dark substance was found beneath the thighs, ribs and vertebrae of other skeletons. Considerable remains of flesh survived in the rib and abdominal cavity and along the right leg of skeleton A in Tomb G-73.[354] Also, plaits of hair survived. Tomb B-35 had several instances in which traces of hair adhering to the skulls could be observed.[355] One skull had fine, silky, grey hair; another had thick, coarse, brown hair, which extended 20 cm. from the skull; others had brown hair, or very coarse brown hair. Fragments of wooden combs were found all over the chamber area. The remains of curly hair were discovered under a skull in Tomb H-22.[356] A most remarkable feature

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351. Ibid., p. 99; Yadin, Hazor II, p. 84, Tomb 15.

352. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 265.

353. Ibid., p. 443.

354. Kenyon, K., Jericho II, p. 447.

355. Kenyon, K., Jericho I, p. 371.

356. Ibid., p. 503.

of the Jericho skeletons was the preservation of the actual brain inside several skulls. Even though these were shrivelled, the convolutions were clearly visible.[357]

In summary, the evidence reflects a uniform practice in the placement of the corpse within the tomb chamber. No receptacles were used; instead multiple successive or simultaneous interments were made in the same chamber. The bodies were extended or contracted, with the limbs rather untidily disposed. A majority of the skeletal remains were in a fragmented and disturbed condition; there being no evidence for the attempted preservation of the body.

Dothan Tomb-1 and human remains:- Little difference is to be noted between the treatment and condition of the Dothan skeletal material and the general picture of human remains recovered in the excavations of the selected Canaanite tombs. No coffins were used; instead the body was placed, either on the chamber floor or on the debris of previous interments, in an extended position.[358] No rule of orientation was followed in the placement of the corpse. A bedding layer of earth was provided; the average depth being 15 cm.,[359] and contributed to a quasi-stratification of deposits and skeletons. In some cases, store-jar sherds were used as a shroud.[360]

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357. Ibid., pp. 266, 333; Jericho II, p. 447.

358. Cooley, op. cit., p. 18.

359. Ibid., p. 23.

360. Ibid., pp. 229, 249.

The practice of multiple successive burials caused a great deal of destruction to the skeletal material. In many places the bone material of many skeletons was fused into a solid mass, making it impossible to study individual burials.[361] The few interments which had not suffered destruction indicate that the full-length or extended position was preferred. The clearest representation of this trait was found in grid locations L4-8C and L4-8D.[362] Nine skeletons in complete articulation, side by side, were well preserved. All nine bodies were fully extended and oriented east to west; the feet positioned toward the entrance. The skulls were in a variety of positions: five were in a side position; three were face-up; and, one was face-down. It could not be determined whether these nine bodies represented a simultaneous interment, or successive interments with a short time lapse between each interment. The best preserved skeleton in a niche or crypt was that of H-213 in niche H.[363] The body was placed in an extended position with the right arm beside the right leg, and the left arm in an over-the-head position. The uniqueness of this burial is related to the skull position. Cranial fragments rested between the knees and suggest the possibility that the skull had been detached before burial and placed in this position. However, if this was a case of beheading, a few articulated vertebrae would have been associated with the skull. None were found. Another feature

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361. Free, op. cit., p. 12.

362. Cooley, op. cit., pp. 236-237.

363. Ibid., p. 239.

of the Dothan material deserving mention is the excellent preservation of tibia and fibula. These were often "stacked" like cordwood, a result of the reuse of the chamber space for fresh burials.[364] In clearing the chamber for reuse the evidence shows that skeletons were often moved while the flesh still remained. Associated with skull H-31 were articulated vertebrae and ribs indicating that the upper torso was intact following the disturbance.[365] In summary, the whole range of skeletal conditions, typical in chamber tombs, is well represented in the Dothan tomb. However, dissimilar to the Jericho tombs, no flesh, hair, or desiccated brain was detected; nor was there evidence of the special treatment or placement of the skull.

The major significance of the Dothan material is not to be seen in the placement or condition characteristic, but in the amount of skeletal material in this single chamber tomb. A tabulation, level by level, indicates the following:

Level one - The material was badly destroyed due to the roof-fall. Two skeletons in niche C and two skeletons in niche A could be discerned. Skull fragments indicate there were 74 skeletons.

Level two - One skeleton (infant) could be distinguished in spite of the fragmentary condition of the material. Skull fragments indicate there were 92 skeletons.

Level three- Material was in a better state of preservation due to the protection of the debris of levels one and two. Skulls, particularly, were in a good state of preservation. Skulls, fragments

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364. Ibid., pp. 22, 249.

365. Cooley, op. cit., p. 225.

and intact, indicate there were 65 skeletons.

Level four - Material found in a very good state of preservation. This was due to the silt which had accumulated around the skeletons. Skulls, fragments and intact, indicate there were 47 skeletons.

Level five - Material well preserved, but sparse. Skulls, fragments and intact, indicate there were 10 skeletons.[366]

In all, based upon the skull evidence, 288 skeletons were in the tomb. If allowance is made for the total destruction of additional skulls, it is possible that the Dothan chamber tomb contained considerably more than 300 bodies. This number of interments is of far greater amount than any other Middle or Late Bronze tomb studied.

Furthermore, the Dothan study gains added significance, when the factors contributing to the preservation of skulls is considered. The deeper the skull, in the debris pile, the better preserved. Every skull in level one suffered destruction caused by the roof-fall. Eight of 92 skulls or 9% in level two were intact. With each succeeding level the percentage of intact skulls increased: level three - 26 of 65 or 40%; level four - 29 of 47 or 62%; and level five - 7 of 10 or 70%.[367] It is clear that the great amount of associated debris served to protect the skull material. Also, the silt intrusion in level four contributed an additional packing for the skeletal material.

E. Burial Deposits

It was a Canaanite practice to supply the dead with food, drink,

366. Ibid., pp. 8-9; 19; 224-239.

367. Ibid., pp. 8-9; 19; 224-239.

clothing, jewelry, utensils, furniture and weapons for use in the life of the netherworld. The arrangement of these deposits can be somewhat determined by the observing of intact burials. Usually, personal possessions were placed with the body, and the grave furnishings carefully arranged around the body or along the edge of the chamber. In three instances at Jericho, an alabaster vessel was placed on the body. On the left side of Skeleton A in Tomb H-6, an alabaster bowl was placed near the abdomen.[368] Similarly, the remains of an alabaster bowl were found on the left side of the pelvis of Skeleton L in Tomb H-18.[369] In Tomb J-14, an alabaster cup was found lying on the abdomen of child skeleton P.[370] This practice was apparently done in recognition of the importance of the individual, since all three are associated with special mud-brick platforms and all three vessels were alabaster. Throughout the culture area, however, it was unusual to place deposits, other than personal items, on the body.

Grave furnishings were usually distributed around the body, and along the chamber walls. Gibeon Tomb-50 contained two skeletons in approximately their original positions.[371] Pottery vessels and weapons occupied positions around the bodies. The only deposits near the chamber walls were two lamps placed in a lamp niche. On other occasions, the

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368. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 454.

369. Ibid., p. 489.

370. Kenyon, K., Jericho II, p. 313.

371. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 54.

deposits were placed along the chamber walls leaving the center area clear for the body. Tomb-129 at Lachish contained a valuable collection of deposits, all of which was stacked on the east side of the chamber.[372] A mass simultaneous burial was found in Jericho Tomb H-11 with the accompanying vessels placed round the circumference of the chamber as a communal supply. In general, the Canaanites placed their grave offerings around and near the body, but seldom on the body.

The excavators rarely found it possible to associate the deposits with individual burials within a tomb, except for intact burials mentioned above, which usually were the final interments. Dislocation of the deposits by human and natural agencies made it difficult to recover the original positions of objects. Therefore, the final burials, with their deposits virtually intact, are extremely useful as evidence for the placement patterns of deposits.

The number and type of deposits vary greatly. In general, they may be classified as objects of personal adornment, military equipment and accouterments, household articles, and amulets and ritual objects.

Personal adornment:- The bodies were laid in the tombs dressed in their personal ornaments and adornments. These constitute a repertoire of jewelry, clothing, toilet articles, and walking stick.

Jewelry assemblages included necklaces, bracelets, finger rings, earrings, pendants and headware. This assortment of jewelry articles is valuable in illustrating the quality of Canaanite fineries. Beads are

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372. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 229.

found in small quantity in most of the tombs and are indicative of the presence of necklaces; the string having decayed in antiquity. Based upon the evidence, necklaces were either out of popular style or were generally lifted by tomb-robbers. Only 800 beads were found in the Megiddo Tombs,[373] and the Jebusite tomb at Dominus Flevit contained only 28 beads.[374] Beads were not very comon at Jericho.[375] A wide range of sizes, decorations and materials are represented in all collections. Paste is the most common material. Stone beads of carnelian, amethyst, marble, chalcedony, and opal are also found in varying numbers.[376] Glass beads appear early in the period.[377] Metal beads (bronze) are rare, but represented.[378] The major forms represented are disks, oblong, bicone, cylindrical, long and short barrel, pear-shape, and globular.[379] Decorations include fluting, incised chevron lines, gadrooned, and various colors.[380]

Bracelets were as rare as beads, and it appears that they were a rather late ornament to be deposited with the dead. The earliest dated bracelets are to be found in the Middle Bronze II - Late Bronze I

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373. Guy, op. cit., p. 179.

374. Saller, op. cit., p. 169.

375. Kenyon, K., Jericho I, p. 266.

376. Guy, op. cit., p. 181; Pritchard, op. cit., p. 158.

377. Ibid., p. 179; Tufnell, op. cit., p. 283.

378. Ibid., p. 181 (Plate 138:15c)

379. Ibid., p. 181; Saller, op. cit., p. 169; Tufnell, op. cit., p. 88; Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 158-160.

380. See citations in footnote 379.

tomb at Dominus Flevit.[381] Four intact and five fragmentary bronze bracelets, 40-53 mm. in average diameter, make up the Jebusite collection. The four bronze bracelets located at Lachish were thought to belong to children or were nose-rings, because of the small average diameter of 5 cms.[382] The finest specimens come from Megiddo tombs.[383] Four bracelets consist of a rounded bronze strip with ends tied; and, a fifth bracelet, was made of silver. The bracelet design was unusual and displayed unusual craftsmanship. A diamond-shape piece formed the center of the bracelet, with silver strands forming the wide bands. It was not ascertained how it was fastened, since one of the ends was fragmentary. It is possible that all five Megiddo bracelets should be dated in the Late Bronze Age.[384] In general it seems that bracelets were sporadically included with the deposits, and then, only toward the end of the Bronze Age.

Finger rings were the most common personal ornaments buried with the dead. These consisted of several materials; silver, gold, bronze, and iron. Bronze rings were the most common. Designs and styles range from simple circles of round wire or flat bands to elaborately constructed scarab rings. Open circles are typical of Middle Bronze Age rings and continue into the Late Bronze Age. In addition, the closed circle ring

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381. Saller, op. cit., p. 174; Plate 36:6.

382. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 81; Plate 25:34, 37, 41-42.

383. Guy, op. cit., pp. 177-178.

384. Ibid., p. 177.

is first seen in the Late Bronze. Scarab rings were the most numerous finds at all sites. The scarabs were generally mounted on a bronze wire ring; although some gold rings have been discovered. Beautiful specimens of the latter type have been found at Gibeon[385] and Megiddo.[386] One ring demands special attention inasmuch as it is an important addition to the epigraphic materials in Palestine.[387] The bezel of the gold ring is separated into three registers: the middle register is inscribed with a floral pattern; and, the third is inscribed with eight old Canaanite characters. Translation of the script is conjectural, due to the debatable nature of the roughly made letters. Probably it indicates ownership and mentions a personal name or a title.[388]

Three types of earrings are found in the Canaanite tombs.[389] The first type consists of a small wire of gold, oval-shaped, with the overlap at the top. Near the base, but on the side, is a small globular deposit of gold. Type two is of bronze, circular in shape with the closure at the top and no overlap. The bottom portion is extra thick and heavy. The third type is triangular in shape and made of electrum, an alloy of gold and silver. An overlap is placed on the side and the base is extra heavy. All types are designed for pierced

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385. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 154; Plate 98:29.

386. Guy, op. cit., p. 172; Plate 107:19.

387. Ibid., pp. 173-176.

388. Ibid., p. 176.

389. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 94; Tufnell, op. cit., p. 81; Guy, op. cit., p. 177.

ears. The number of specimens excavated from the tombs is limited, which suggest their limited use as burial deposits or that they were prime objects for removal by tomb-robbers.

No established tradition of pendants is present within the culture area, and those which are found are often declared to have amuletic value by the excavators. A variety of shapes are represented: animal, symbols, plants and gods. The material is as varied. A carnelian pendant in the form of a bird was found in a Hazor burial.[390] Gold and fayence are common materials at Lachish and at Megiddo.[391] The Late Bronze II pendants reflect the influence of Egyptian patterns. Representative patterns are the lotus seed, and the gods Bes and Sekhmet. The crescent form is well known in the area and is amuletic in practice.[392]

Ornaments for the hair or head are almost non-existent. In one tomb the end of a gold headband was discovered.[393] This fragmentary piece was decorated with a spiral design. A similar band and more complete was found by Flinders Petrie in the excavations at ancient Gaza.[394]

An unusual feature of the Jericho tombs was the uncovering of sufficient fragments of textiles to show that the bodies had been clothed at the time of burial. For the most part, the traces of actual clothing

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390. Yadin, Hazor I, p. 130; Plate CXVIII: 23.

391. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 82; Guy, op. cit., pp. 177-178.

392. Cornfeld, Gaalyahu, Pictorial Biblical Encyclopedia, p. 507.

393. Ibid., p. 82.

394. Petrie, Flinders, Ancient Gaza IV, p. 7; Pl. XVI: 42.

were far too fragmentary to give any evidence about the garments. A short garment is suggested in the case of the body from Tomb J-3.[395] Decayed textile is possibly represented in the traces of orange-brown powdery dust which extended the whole length of the body to about 20 cms. below the sacrum. Traces of linen were present on burial H, Tomb H-18.[396] Under skeleton A in Tomb B-48, a thick layer of brown dust derived from a textile. In addition to the textile, fragments of string in an open weave were found, possibly sacking or a string bag.[397] A string-like substance, possibly the remains of something in the nature of sacking, covered skeletons D and E in Tomb M-11.[398] Little idea of the garments worn can be gleaned from such fragmentary indications. Additional evidence for the form of garments is obtained from the position of the toggle pin on the undisturbed skeletons.

Toggle pins are found in the tombs of all the sites under study, and represent the only form of dress fastening that has survived.[399] The most common position for the pin in Jericho tombs was on the left shoulder or ribs, with the point down. Pins were also found on the right shoulder, on the pelvis as if to secure a loin cloth, and occasionally it is on the shoulder with the point up. Garment forms may

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395. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 308.

396. Ibid., p. 489.

397. Kenyon, K., Jericho II, p. 208.

398. Ibid., p. 228.

399. Saller, op. cit., p. 174; Tufnell, op. cit., p. 79; Guy, op. cit., p. 168; Yadin, op. cit., p. 133; Pritchard, op. cit., p. 31; Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 566-570.

be inferred from the position of the pins, for the relatively limited range of positions make it clear that they did not ordinarily just secure a shroud. In the case of a shroud the position of the pin would have been haphazard and not related to the position of the body. Pins positioned on the shoulder suggest a toga-like garment passing below one armpit and crossing over the opposite shoulder; pins on the chest possibly represent the same garment except that it has slipped around. A skirt-like garment is indicated by the pin in the region of the lower ribs. Pins at the hip possibly indicate a skirt or kilt. The fact that the number of skeletons found is far greater than the number of toggle pins found possibly indicates that the greater portion of the population were either buried unclothed or that they had a form of garment such as a loin-cloth or a kilt tucked in at the waist, that did not require a fastener. A typological study of the toggle pin has been accomplished by Mrs. Henschel-Simon and contributes greatly to an understanding of the chronological implications of the pins.[400] Such pins continued in use into the beginning of the Iron Age, when their place was gradually taken by the fibula. The fibula, however, does appear in isolated instances during the Late Bronze Age.[401]

In addition to the presence of garments, traces of possible head-coverings were observed at Jericho.[402] Fragments of textile lay under

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400. Henschel-Simon. "The Togglepins in the Palestine Archaeological Museum," Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities, Palestine. Jerusalem, VI, pp. 169-209.

401. Yadin, op. cit., p. 130; Tufnell, op. cit., p. 82.

402. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 570.

the skull of burial C and the skull of burial D in Tomb G-46, and may represent skull caps.[403] Under the head of child burial J in Tomb H-22, traces of textile remain and possibly indicate the presence of a skull cap.[404]

Besides the fabrics, there were many fragments of leather in association with the bodies in Jericho tombs. A belt or kilt is indicated by the dark leathery material round the pelvic region of skeleton A in Tomb H-6.[405] Similarly, two leather strips lying between the legs of skeleton D in Tomb H-11 may have been the remains of a belt.[406] Fragments of a leather bag or bottle were located in Tomb P-23. These consisted of a circular base and a section of rim, both showing the stitching holes.[407] A unique survival is the clear traces of leather sandals or shoes on the feet of skeletons C and D in Tomb P-19.[408]

Among the objects buried with the Jericho bodies were wooden boxes, apparently their toilet boxes for toilet requisites and articles of adornment, decorated with bone inlay. Bone inlay of the Jericho type is well attested at the other sites, and even though the wood has decayed, the presence of toilet boxes is indicated by these inlays. The boxes are rectangular in shape, with side panels attached to corner posts

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403. Kenyon, K., Jericho I, p. 332.

404. Ibid., p. 504.

405. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 454.

406. Ibid., p. 473.

407. Kenyon, K., Jericho II, p. 295.

408. Ibid., p. 390.

and the lid held shut by means of a string wrapped round two knobs, one on the lid and the other on a side panel.[409] The designs on the bone inlay are quite uniform throughout the area. These decorative motifs included diagonal, horizontal, criss-cross incised lines and in varying combinations. Concentric circles were often included to form a contrast to the linear decoration. This combination of circular and linear decoration was regularly arranged to form panels or registers. Petals of rosette pattern, stylized birds, and chevrons were other common motifs. Excellent examples of these designs were found in Jericho Tomb H-22.[410] The thin decorated bone strips, which are commonly called inlays in spite of the fact that they were not set into the wood, were glued or pegged on to the box.[411] Exceptional toilet boxes of ivory, duck-shaped, were found in tombs at Megiddo.[412] The various units of the boxes were joined together by ivory dowels, and the neck and head were turned to form the handle. Technical excellence is to be observed in the craftsmanship. It cannot be proved whether or not these unique deposits are native products or were imported. The best parallels are to be found at Mycenae and in Egypt.[413]

One of the most characteristic finds in the Jericho tomb deposits

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409. Kenyon, K., Jericho I, pp. 533-534.

410. Ibid., pp. 510-512, cf. Guy, op. cit., p. 186; Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 30 and 35; Tufnell, op. cit., pp. 86-87; Saller, op. cit., pp. 178-183.

411. Kenyon, K., Jericho I, p. 265, ftnt. 1.

412. Guy, op. cit., p. 188; Plates 104 and 142:1.

413. Mylonas, George E., Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age, pp. 190-191.

are the very many wooden combs. They are entirely of wood, including the teeth. The top of the comb is curved in three or two scallops with openwork. The bar between the scallops and the teeth is often decorated with straight horizontal lines or in combination of straight and wavy lines.[414] A comb fragment was found at one other site, Lachish, and was bone with incised horizontal and vertical lines.[415] A lavish collection of 12 combs were discovered in a basket in Jericho Tomb H-22, and associated with other toilet equipment.[416] Combs were found generally in two positions: either against the skull, or in the neighborhood of the ribs. It is clear from this association with the bodies that the combs had an ornamental use as well as a functional use. Combs found against the skull had presumably been stuck in the hair of the head, and those found low on the hips must have been in long plaits of hair. In addition to the combs as ornaments, an isolated case indicates that flowers may have been attached to the hair as further ornamentation by a comb. Near skeleton A in Tomb H-18 were three combs with some flaky material, possibly decayed flowers or herbs.[417]

Furthermore, in the Jericho tombs, fibrous materials, remained which appear to be evidence of wigs. The wigs were made of hair of animal origin or of woolen substance. Beneath burial H (Tomb H-18)

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414. Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 298-299.

415. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 87; Plate 28:16.

416. Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 503; 509.

417. Ibid., p. 488.

were traces of a reddish woolen material, perhaps a hennaed wig.[418] It is clear that wigs were used by the Canaanite women.

Walking-sticks or staves were found in a number of instances. Wood stick 20 is an excellent example. Though in a fragmentary condition, the entire stick was present and lying along with burial E.[419] These sticks were useful items among the personal possessions of the male population of Canaan. The staff in hand was a picture of security in old age (Zechariah 8:4).

In summary, bodies were buried clothed and were provided with jewelry and toilet implements, usually combs, and small wooden boxes. Head-coverings, leather belts and sandles, wigs and walking sticks were provided as accessories.

Military equipment and accouterments:- Few weapons were found in the tombs of the Canaanites. The practice of descendants removing objects of value or of use from the tomb at the time of subsequent burials would account for the scarcity of weapons in the deposits. Those that were overlooked and remained indicate that it was customary to place weapons in the chambers throughout the time period under study. Such military equipment and accouterments are the special furnishings of men, and are found beside the bodies and within easy reach of the deceased. Based upon the Megiddo analysis, copper was the practical metal used for weapons during Middle Bronze I, and bronze was introduced

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418. Ibid., p. 489.

419. Ibid., p. 332.

during Middle Bronze II and almost entirely replaced cooper.[420] The introduction of bronze made it possible to produce a harder metal, and therefore, a finer weapon. The Hyksos are credited with this technological advance.[421] Perhaps the weapons were used by the deceased during his lifetime and placed in the tomb as a personal object valued in life.

The daggers may be classified into two groups based upon the method employed to secure the handle to the blade: by means of rivets or by tangs. It should be mentioned first that the handles of the daggers were apparently made of perishable materials and consequently did not survive. The handles of Middle Bronze I - Late Bronze I daggers were attached to the blade by means of rivets.[422] Three rivets were normally used for this attachment. Marble or limestone pommels topped the handles. Dagger blades from Late Bronze II deposits are all tanged. On some, the tang is bent, presumably to keep the handle from slipping off. An important blade was discovered in Lachish Tomb 1502, on which was inscribed an alphabetic inscription. Decipherment of the inscription is difficult, however, scholars consider it one of the earliest attempts at alphabetic writing.[423] It is possible that scabbards of wood or leather held the daggers, but these have decomposed completely. However,

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420. Guy, op. cit., p. 160.

421. Ibid., p. 161.

422. Ibid., pp. 164-165; Fig. 171.

423. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 128.

in one instance, the evidence in Jericho Tomb J-3 clearly indicates a wooden sheath. Evidentally the dagger was placed near the body, but seldom on the body, inasmuch as most specimens are located in isolation of skeletal material. An exception is Gibeon Tomb 15 where a dagger was found neatly poised across the spine of the skeleton.[424]

Other weapons found in the tombs comprise spearheads and arrowheads. The spearheads have long cylindrical sockets which have been produced by rolling. The tapered head of the haft was then hammered into shape, therefore, the evidence seems to indicate that haft and head were interdependent in all stages of manufacture.[425] The socket was left open to provide for varying shaft diameters. Leaf-shaped bronze arrowheads are also included in the weapon assemblage. These projectile points are long and slim in proportion to the width. The tang was either round or square, and culminates at the point end in a slight midrib.[426]

Battle-axes have been found at three sites; two styles were found at Megiddo, one type at Jericho and both types at Gibeon.[427] The earliest style at Megiddo is represented by a socketed axehead with a semicircular nick for a binding thong, and the blade long and narrow. The Jericho weapon is a close parallel, the only difference being that moulding is round the shaft-hole. The Megiddo axe heads are probably

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424. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 23.

425. Guy, op. cit., pp. 163-164.

426. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 79; cf. Yadin, Y., Hazor II, p. 153.

427. Guy, op. cit., pp. 167-168; Kenyon, K., Jericho I, pp. 308, 313; Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 126, 138.

the predecessors of the Jericho examples. Another Megiddo weapon is unique in style. It is a socketed axehead of bronze, with a wide, circular blade. Two large openings were cut through the center area of the blade. The blade haft was fastened to the shaft by means of a pin at one end of the socket. Similar axeheads have been discovered at Byblos and Ras Shamra, and related types are known from earlier times in Mesopotamia.[428]

At Jericho, there is one tomb which by reason of its contents is probably to be identified as that of a warrior.[429] By the left side of the body was a belt of bronze, embossed in circles and spirals, with hinged hoops which were presumably tied together by leather thongs. His weapons, a dagger and a battle-axe, were alongside the body. Two more daggers and two more axeheads were against the chamber walls and served him as a reserve armory. Parts of three asses were found in the shaft. From the above descriptions, and especially the tomb of the warrior, it is clear that all the weapons are designed for hand-to-hand fighting. The presence of the asses may indicate a mounted warrior and greater mobility in conflict.

Household articles:- It is a uniform trait that the majority of tomb equipment is household articles: food and drink with the necessary vessels, implements, furniture, basketry and matting. Such deposits provide some indications for the Canaanites' belief about the

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428. Ibid., p. 168.

429. Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 307-313.

life after death. The dead were supplied with the things used in their everyday secular life in the belief that they would continue to need the same equipment. Such a practice holds significance for the archaeologist. Artifacts are found in their original complete condition and are valuable data for the study of the material culture of an area; as well as a valuable aid in identifying material fragments that are discovered in the occupational levels of the tell. Furthermore, an assemblage can be established when artifacts are discovered grouped together within one tomb and each component dated by the established chronological relationships. The deposits found in the tombs, therefore, are very important not only because of the customs they illustrate but because of the chronological evidence they provide and also for the picture they give us of the artistic activity of the people. This can best be illustrated by the abundant ceramic repertory discovered in the Megiddo Tombs.[430]

The influence of foreign ceramic traditions is attested in each phase of the Middle and Late Bronze ages. A manifestation of foreign influence in Middle Bronze I is to be seen in the "teapots." These are small vessels, with spouts, and decorated with light horizontal bands and spirals, zigzags, or continuous curves. This type of vessel is not common in the southern regions of the area, but are found at several sites in Syria and therefore, that country is considered as the place of origin. The Tell el-Yahudiyeh jug appears at the beginning of the

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430. Guy, op. cit., pp. 148-158.

Middle Bronze II period and is one of the most constant features of the earlier stages of Middle Bronze II in Canaan. It is attributed as one of many Egyptian influences carried by the Hyksos into the Land of Canaan. The Late Bronze I period is characterized by ceramic traditions from Cyprus, and by Hurrian art forms on pottery of local manufacture. These art motifs include antithetic arrangement of birds and tree. The chalice makes its first appearance in Late Bronze I and represents a new ceramic form. Considerable Mediterranean traffic during Late Bronze II is indicated by the Cypriote and Mycenaean imports. Typical of the Cypriote wares are the base-ring ware and the white slip milk bowls. Mycenaean products include the well-known stirrup cup and crater-shaped bowls. Both Mediterranean types were imitated by the potters of Megiddo. In addition to the foreign traditions, the Late Bronze II pottery has a stamp of its own. Jar-stands and chalices were reaching a fuller importance. Thoroughly typical of the period is a juglet with pinched lip and one which is shaved. Funnels and flasks are likewise characteristic of the Late Bronze II collection. These random examples are sufficient to demonstrate the significance of the ceramic deposits in the tombs to archaeological methodology and interpretation, without discussing typological detail, which is not pertinent to this investigation.

The major class of household articles deposited with the burials are pottery vessels. Bowls were the most common vessels. The tabulation of pottery deposits in the Jebusite burial at Dominus Flevit is typical of the area:[431]

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431. Saller, op. cit., p. 6.

Bowls	1000
Lamps	342
Dippers	250
Juglets	83
Jars	80
Jugs	60
Base Ring Ware	50

The relative proportions of the Jebusite deposits correspond very closely to those at Lachish:[432]

Bowls	716
Lamps	282
Juglets	197
Base Ring Ware	171
Dippers	155
Jugs	89
Storage jars	63

In each case the bowls predominate. Furthermore, there is little variety either in form or decoration. The large number of bowls suggests a long period of tomb use; the lack of variety, stability within the bowl tradition. The high proportion of lamps indicate that light in the tomb was thought to be important. Evolution of the lamp style is clearly represented; from Middle Bronze II onward the lamp had a single lip which became increasingly pinched. Lamps with flat bottom and round bottom were discovered in the same tombs and, therefore, do not seem to have any chronological significance. The lamp with its light would symbolize life, as opposed to death - the realm of darkness. This accounts for the universal practice of placing lamps in tomb deposits. The jars, provided the dead, vary greatly in size and served as storage vessels for liquids. To serve the liquids, a variety of jugs were placed with the jars. The

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432. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 176.

variety is characterized by form; piriform, cylindrical, or dippers which taper to a point at the base. In Jericho Tomb G-1 a dipper juglet was still in position in the mouth of Jar 9 and was provided to ladle out the liquid.[433] Food and drink offerings, and light were accommodated by the above described vessels. A variety of other vessels embellished the deposits: goblets, cooking-pots, strainer spouts, teapots, pots, platters, and jar-stands. The Late Bronze vessels are greater in type and design. The new features which distinguish these collections from those of the Middle Bronze deposits are: base-ring ware, lentoid pilgrim's flask, funnels, chalices, pyxides, Mycenaean and Cypriote wares. It has been suggested that the ordinary chalice may also have served a religious function.[434] The form of such vessels is suggestive of use in libations.

Sometimes implements were placed by the body. These are not found in large numbers; either these were desired objects and were removed at the time of subsequent burials in the tomb, or it was believed that life in the netherworld was to be restful and not concerned with the details of work. The Jericho tombs are noted for their preservation of wooden furniture and fabric garments, but in spite of this phenomenon, no wood-working tools nor weaving tools were found in the deposits.[435] The implements found may be classified according to the materials used to make them: metal, stone, and bone. In most cases the functions can

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433. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 443, cf. Tomb H-6, p. 455; H-11, p. 471; H-22, p. 502.

434. May, Herbert G., Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult, p. 23.

435. Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 520; 527.

be identified, while in others it can only be guessed. A remarkable conservatism is apparent in regard to form. Therefore, there is very little typological evidence by which to date a particular tool. Dating must be done by comparison with other deposits found in association with the tools. The most common metal implement is the knife. It was a most important implement in everyday activity being used for the preparation of food. Those specimens which have been found consist of a bronze blade, the handle having decayed. The most characteristic blade form has a rounded end. Knives with a recurved tip have been found at Megiddo and Lachish.[436] These have been tentatively identified as a farrier's tool. The axe, with the cutting edge parallel to the handle, and the adze, which had a vertical blade at right angles to the handle, are numbered among the implements. Closed molds were used to cast the most elaborately made heads. Pins or notches were provided in addition to sockets to attach the head to the handle. Axes were used either as a weapon or for cutting stone, whereas the adze was designed for work with wood, and also sometimes for digging.[437] A large number of needles have also been found in the tomb deposits. They vary in size, and the end of the rod is bent over to form the eyelet.[438] Awls, with square cross-section and sharp point, were used for boring holes in leather or

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436. Guy, op. cit., p. 166; Tufnell, op. cit., p. 78.

437. Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 527-529.

438. Saller, op. cit., p. 176; Guy, op. cit., Plate 148: Pritchard, op. cit., p. 150.

wood.[439] Large tongs and small tweezers were useful implements to lift hot items or small objects.[440] Other metal implements included in the burial deposits are pins, rivets, nails and chains. Chisels were also included and were used to cut metal, wood, and stone. They would be placed against the material to be worked and then struck with a hammer or other heavy instrument.[441] The tomb deposits contain stone tools, including flint sickle blades, mortars, pestles, rubbers and loom-weights. The presence of flint blades in Middle and Late Bronze tombs is compatable with the evidence from the occupational strata of the sites. These are well-known from prehistoric times and represent one of the earliest of agricultural implements. The blades were often serated and fixed in a curved frame of wood, bone or horn. An excellent collection of these sickle blades was found in the Megiddo tombs,[442] whereas none were found in the Middle Bronze tombs at Gibeon[443] or Lachish.[444] A good group of sickle blades were found in the Late Bronze tombs at Lachish.[445] Another simple agricultural accessory was the basalt grinder and pestle.[446] The most common form was the tripod

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439. Guy, op. cit., Plate 126:3.

440. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 82; Guy, op. cit., Plates 125-126.

441. Guy, op. cit., Plate 127.

442. Ibid., Plate 162.

443. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 53.

444. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 326.

445. Ibid., p. 326.

446. Ibid., p. 84; cf. Yadin, Hazor II, p. 84; Kenyon, op. cit., p. 325; Guy, op. cit., p. 170.

mortar. Stone rubbers and hammers were also included and were useful implements for any rubbing or pounding operation.[447] A rare find in the deposits was the loom-weight. Also, bone tools were few, being represented by awls, spindles and whorls. Our best information regarding spindles and whorls and their use comes from Megiddo.[448] The spindles consisted of cylindrical rods of bone, and the whorls were essentially conical in shape. These implements are most common in Late Bronze II tombs. All in all, the implements of the farmer or the artisan are not well represented in the tomb deposits, either in number or in variety.

The investigation has shown that the Jericho tombs are unique in the preservation of perishable deposits made of organic materials, especially wood.[449] Decay was arrested, it is believed by the accumulation of gas within the tomb chamber and therefore killed the destructive organisms. Most of the deposits were either found decayed into a brown powdery material or extremely fragile pieces. None of the furniture was found intact. The best preserved deposits were the smaller wooden objects, such as combs, juglets or bowls. These wooden objects may be classified into two major groups: those products which were constructed and those which were carved. Constructions of wood include beds, tables, stools, and boxes. Tomb H-18 contained a simple bed, with

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447. Guy, op. cit., p. 170.

448. Ibid., pp. 170-171.

449. Kenyon, Kathleen, Jericho I, pp. 326-328; 339; 463; 527-534; Jericho II, pp. 398-407.

five cross-pieces designed to join the side-pieces.[450] String was stretched through holes in the side-pieces and formed the lying surface. This frame was supported by legs at each corner; only the foot and the top survive to indicate the position. On this stretcher-like bed lay the principal burial. Beside him was the largest table found - 1.50 m. long.[451] The design of this table is typical of all those found in other tombs. A single plank of wood formed the top. The plank was thicker at the center than the edges, and the top surface was convex. Every table found had only three legs; two at one end, and one in the center of the other end. These were attached to the top plank by means of a socket which had mortice and tenon, including a pin through both mortice and tenon. Such a technique ensured a tight joint. The three-legs design is significant in that such a table would stand much better on uneven ground than a four-leg table. When standing, these tables were probably on a level of the stool seats, or below. Two types of stools were found.[452] One stool was large and could seat two persons. Cord was stretched across the side pieces to form the seat. The legs had moulded feet, swelling out into a curve. The second stool type was much smaller, providing seating for one person. These had plain turned legs, sometimes decorated with incised grooves. In addition to these items of furniture, small wooden toilet boxes were constructed. These have

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450. Ibid., p. 494.

451. Ibid., pp. 492; 529.

452. Ibid., pp. 464-465; cf. Jericho II, pp. 403-405.

been described elsewhere in the study.[453] Carvings in wood include vessels, platters and combs. A shallow wooden bowl or platter with four hooked handles projecting from the rim, was a most common find.[454] Others had a much more attractive handle in the form of rams' heads.[455] Wooden cups and juglets were also deposited and represent some of the finest craftsmanship discovered.[456] The juglets were made in two halves with dovetailed joint, which was oftentimes decorated with an incised band. These, like their pottery counter-parts, tapered at the base, terminating in a small button base. A few wooden containers were carved in the form of pomegranate and made for a most interesting find since real pomegranates were also found.[457] Cylindrical and oblong boxes were also found.[458] A deposit of delicate craftsmanship and woodworking skill was the comb, a plentiful find.[459] The Jericho tombs have, therefore, preserved some of the finest objects of wood to be found in Ancient Palestine.

Besides the wood, flora and fauna remains were preserved. These materials were represented at the other sites, as well as Jericho. The flora consisted mainly of pomegranates, grapes, and figs, in a shrunken

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453. See p. 139.
454. Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 327; 328; 466.
455. Ibid., p. 386.
456. Ibid., p. 327.
457. Ibid., pp. 339; 390.
458. Ibid., pp. 339-340.
459. See pp. 139-140.

condition.[460] Olives were represented by the olive-pit. In a number of tombs remains of fauna were found among the deposits. These remains usually took the form of joints of mutton, or whole carcasses of sheep. The skeleton of a sheep was found in Megiddo Tombs 20, 1145 and 1178; and, remains of sheep or goat were present in all other deposits, but in a fragmentary condition.[461] Four sheep skulls were recorded found in Gibeon Tomb 15.[462] A sheep or goat is represented at Lachish by a single cheek tooth and by two metapodials.[463] Remains of at least four sheep or goats were against the wall of Jericho Tomb H-22.[464] The Jericho sheep had been cooked, the bones were charred by roasting, and numerous fragments of the flesh survived. Equine remains have been discovered at Megiddo and Jericho.[465] In both instances they have been identified as probably being a half-ass or true ass. Bones of pig were found in most Megiddo deposits, as well as a few bones of the jackal.[466] The ostrich egg was a strange deposit, being found only in tombs at the southern sites of Lachish and Jericho. Apparently, these represent Egyptian influence.[467] The Jericho collection is in an

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460. Kenyon, K., Jericho I, pp. 265; 330; 445.

461. Guy, op. cit., pp. 74, 95, 99, 61, 210.

462. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 23.

463. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 323.

464. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 502.

465. Guy, op. cit., p. 210; Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 308, 535.

466. Ibid., p. 212.

467. Mylonas, op. cit., p. 90.

excellent state of preservation, as well as brightly decorated.[468] Shells, derived from the Mediterranean and Red Sea areas, are included with the food offerings.[469] The cross-section of the plant and animal environment represented in the burial deposits should not be construed as representing the total diet of the Canaanite. Certainly some varieties have decayed, or were never included in the deposits.

Other deposits of household articles indicate the great variety within the material culture of the Canaanites. Pottery was not the only material used in the making of vessels, though it was the most common and inexpensive. Finer and much more valuable vessels were made of alabaster, faience, or bronze. Durable and heavy vessels were fashioned from basalt stone. Alabaster vessels were found at all the sites, indicating a uniform use. These vessels are distinguished by four major types: bottles, jars, cups, and flasks.[470] It is suggested that alabaster vessels were imported from Egypt during the Middle Bronze II age on a large scale, and were continually imported throughout succeeding periods. Also, some alabaster vessels were produced locally in Canaan, from local material and with a different technique.[471] The

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468. Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 330, 406; Kenyon, K., Jericho II, pp. 408, 438.

469. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 324; Guy, op. cit., Plate 94; Kenyon, op. cit., p. 473.

470. Kenyon, K., Jericho I, p. 313; Yadin, Y., Hazor I, p. 133; Saller, op. cit., p. 163; Tufnell, op. cit., p. 85; Guy, op. cit., p. 186.

471. Ben-Dor, I., "Palestinian Alabaster Vases," Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities, Palestine, Jerusalem, XI, 1945, pp. 93-112.

functions of the alabaster vessels were closely associated with cosmetic practices; i.e., storage of perfumes and paints. Therefore, these were special deposits for the ladies. The number of faience vessels is not very large. For example, only five vases were found at Dominus Flevit; six kohl pots at Lachish; three vessels from the Megiddo tombs; and, sixteen vessels in the Jericho Tombs.[472] Bag-shaped jars, lentoid flasks, kohl pots, vases and bottles were the usual types represented and most come from Middle Bronze II contexts. Like the alabastra, the faience objects represent Egyptian influence and a cosmetic function. Bronze vessels represent a rare find, and primarily are to be found in Late Bronze II deposits. The Megiddo industry is the best representation of this particular deposit.[473] Two vessels are saucers and have a slightly pinched indentation, similar to pottery lamps of the period, and may have served the same function. The other vessels are bowls with ring base or round bottom, and a vase. In the Late Bronze II Tomb 1006 at Lachish a small metal bowl completely crushed and a large bronze scoop almost intact were found.[474] The scoop was one piece, beaten out, with small loop handle and ring base. To judge from the tomb deposits, metal vessels were not common in Canaan, particularly during the Middle Bronze Age, or were not likely burial deposits because of there value

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472. Saller, op. cit., p. 166; Tufnell, op. cit., p. 83; Guy, op. cit., p. 188; Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 427, 473, 489, 503, 518.

473. Guy, op. cit., pp. 188-189.

474. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 252; Plate 42:1.

and importance to the living, or were removed by tomb robbers. Basalt, a fairly common rock in the northern region, was used for vessels. Usually these took the form of broad open bowls or platters.[475] Rush matting and basketry were among the unusual deposits recovered from the Jericho tombs.[476] The matting consisted of long rushes or bundles of grass darned across a warp of twisted cords of palm fibers. It was generally used to shroud the bodies or placed under the bodies to provide a bedding layer. It is also possible that the body was lowered into the tomb chamber on a rush mat. Besides the matting, there were baskets in association with the bodies and used to hold toilet articles.[477] These were produced in the coiled technique. Finally, cylinder seals may be mentioned as belonging to the deposits of household objects. Sixteen were found: four at Lachish,[478] four at Jericho,[479] and eight at Megiddo.[480] The presence of these seals in the tombs reflects Mitannian or North Mesopotamian influence. An oblong seal was discovered in Tomb 555 at Lachish.[481] It is inscribed with hieroglyphs on one face, and a figure on each of the remaining faces which appear to be allied to Early Canaanite script.

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475. Guy, op. cit., p. 186. Fig. 58, Fig. 77, Plate 141:30.

476. Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 519-526.

477. Ibid., pp. 496, 502.

478. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 111.

479. Kenyon, K., Jericho II, p. 656.

480. Guy, op. cit., p. 182.

481. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 128.

Amulets and ritual objects:- It is most noticeable that the burial deposits furnished the dead are purely for their material needs in the nether-world. There is a lack of any overwhelming evidence that objects for a religious or ritual purpose were included in the tomb equipment. Those items which have been identified as either religious or ritualistic in nature, may, in fact, not be such at all. Instead, many may represent the artistic activity of the people, and therefore, have esthetic value only. It is the archaeologist who has assigned the item a spiritual or ritual worth. The following objects constitute the data observed for this investigation.

Figurines representing gods, humans, or animals, were included in the tomb equipment at every site except Jericho and Gibeon. Animal figurines represent a limited number of species. The Megiddo collection includes two bronze figurines, a cow and a sheep; one pottery cow's head with the horns broken off; and one sheep of hematite.[482] The meaning of these figurines remains fluid. A carved leopard's head and duck's head of ivory were in the Lachish deposits.[483] These figurines have been identified as to function; the leopard's head adorned furniture or a box, and the duck's head was the terminal of an ivory spoon. Fish figurines are also represented.[484] Female figurines were the most numerous. These pottery forms were produced from moulds or hand formed individually, with

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482. Guy, op. cit., Plates 96:20, 128:12-14.

483. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 88.

484. Ibid., p. 89.

the sexual attributes exaggerated. Such figurines are commonly called 'Astarte' goddesses, and represent a mother-goddess. Because several have been found in tombs, especially at Megiddo,[485] may indicate that the mother-goddess was the protectress and patroness of the dead; a natural corollary to her function as consort of the dying god.[486] An unusual mould-pressed glass figurine of Astarte was found in Lachish Tomb 4004.[487] Male figures were not found in any tomb selected for the study. An unusually well-preserved bronze figure of the warrior-god Resheph was uncovered in Tomb-4 at Megiddo.[488] The god was represented with shield and weapon, and wearing a cap and a wide girdle. A similar figurine was found at Ras Shamra.[489] In summation, it should be noted that a limited number of figurines have been found in tomb deposits. Those which were found could not have had a practical use; however, they may have been votive objects, or charms, or cult objects.

The varieties of amulets are quite numerous; small in size, and pierced in order to be worn around the neck. These objects of symbolic meaning supposedly gave protection, or warded off evil. They are made of various materials, particularly of semiprecious stones or faience. The amulets found are mostly of Egyptian style: deities - Aegis of Bast,

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485. Guy, op. cit., Plates 89, 99, 139, 155.

486. May, Herbert G., Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult, p. 28.

487. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 83.

488. Guy, op. cit., p. 101.

489. Syria X, 1929, Pl. LIII.

Ptah, Sakar, Thath, Taurt, Bes, and Sekhmet; animals - baboons, hawk; symbols - sacred eye, and crescent.[490] The crescent emblem is well-known throughout the area, providing the protection of the moon god against evil eye and witchery. Astragali were found at Megiddo: a model astragalus in Tomb 258, and 70 sheep astragali in Tomb 251.

Scarabs had an amuletic function, also. As the Egyptian emblem of resurrection and continual existence, the scarab was an appropriate tomb deposit. They are found in large numbers. Nearly 400 scarabs, representing the 12th - 20th dynasties, were found in the Lachish Tombs.[491] Jericho tombs contained 427 scarabs.[492] Scarab seals were fashioned from a variety of materials: steatite, amethyst, faience, green jasper, and carnelian. Inscriptions and designs included royal names and official titles, royal emblems, and special decorative patterns. Scarabs were generally worn round the neck or wrist and in a few cases on the finger, though the bronze ring has decayed. Sometimes, at Jericho, a scarab seems to have been suspended from the toggle-pin securing the garment.[493] Megiddo Tomb-911B had a similar trait; a scarab was found lying at about the middle of a skeleton, suggesting that it was attached to the garment in one way or another.[494] The most

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490. Tufnell, op. cit., pp. 82, 89; Guy, op. cit., pp. 177-178; Yadin, op. cit., p. 133.

491. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 92.

492. Kenyon, K., Jericho II, p. 580.

493. Kenyon, K., Jericho I, p. 481.

494. Guy, op. cit., p. 67.

popular method of displaying the scarab can not be clearly determined because of the uncertainties.

Specially designed vessels, full of symbolic meaning, were used in Canaanite cultic practices. A few isolated examples are present in the burial deposits. The scarcity of such ritual ware implies that no uniform tradition had been established. In fact, Kenyon and Pritchard insist that there is absolutely no evidence of any objects connected with religion in either the Jericho or Gibeon tombs.[495] The ritual objects recovered from the tomb deposits include zoomorphic vessels, censers, phalli, rattles and offering stands. A zoomorphic vase representing a bull and comparatively realistic was found in the Jebusite burial place at Dominus Flevit.[496] The Late Bronze Age is indicated as the probable date of the bull vase. There is no direct evidence of their actual use, but such zoomorphic vessels have been uncovered in sacred areas. The bull motif would make them likely furnishings in a fertility ritual. A vessel modeled after a bird was found in scattered sherds, but nearly complete in Jericho Tomb B-3.[497] The interesting feature of this vessel are the snakes which are moulded and attached to the vase. One climbs up the filling aperture to drink, and the other is curled round the bird's neck and along the top of the head. The snake motif is significant in view of the Canaanites indulgence in snake worship

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495. Kenyon, K., Jericho II, p. 577; Pritchard, J., Gibeon, Where the Sun Stood Still, p. 125.

496. Saller, op. cit., p. 158.

497. Kenyon, K., Jericho I, p. 402.

to an extent unknown among other peoples.[498] Lachish Tomb 216 contained a pottery censer, with lid.[499] The lid was inscribed in Early Canaanite signs written in red paint. Such a piece was suitable as an incense burner. Two clay phalli are among the unusual finds of Dominus Flevit.[500] Such an object may have served as a "fertility fetish" by contact with which women hoped to obtain fertility. Saller suggests that such a phallic cult was practiced by those who used the tomb. Three pottery rattles have been found: two from Lachish tomb 1003,[501] and one from the Dominus Flevit burial place.[502] These probably were used at religious functions by dancers. Offering stands were found in the Megiddo tombs. A fine bronze tripod stand was found in Tomb 911A.[503] The oxide from the stand had stained the bottom of pottery vessel P3052, which evidentally was once supported by the stand. In Tomb 912 were two pottery stands upon which bowls containing burial offerings had been placed.[504] It is suggested that offerings considered especially important for the dead were given prominence by resting them on pot-stands.

In summary, deposits of a religious or ritual nature are few.

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498. Graham, W. C., May, H. G., Culture and Conscience, pp. 81-90.

499. Tufnell, op. cit., pp. 235, 128, Plates 45 and 72.

500. Saller, op. cit., p. 157.

501. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 90.

502. Saller, op. cit., p. 159.

503. Guy, op. cit., pp. 65, 188-189.

504. Ibid., p. 71.

The implication is that religion and ritual were for the living, and not the dead. All deposits of a ritual nature, except a large segment of the scarabs and the Jericho bird-snake vase, are chronologically established as being deposited during the Late Bronze Age, at the time of the greater development of Canaanite cultic practices. Furthermore, the female figurines, bull vase, snakes, and phalli are all associated with fertility rites, a central concern of the Canaanite cultus.[505] Such deposits give slight evidence of Canaanite decadence and debased practices.

Burial deposits, in conclusion, represent the normal equipment used by the dead during their lifetime. The investigation has shown that the bodies were clothed at burial and that the normal tomb equipment consisted of personal ornaments and toilet accessories, food and drink with the necessary vessels, implements and furniture. There were very few weapons and articles of a religious or ritual nature. Such furnishings represent a pathetic attempt to preserve the semblance of the estate of the living.

Dothan Tomb-1 and burial deposits:- The Dothan burial deposits compare favorably with the repertoire uncovered at the other sites. Most notably absent are the organic materials - wooden objects, rush matting, basketry, and some foods - which likewise are missing from all other sites except Jericho. Some individual items are significant, either as local variations to the general pattern of burial deposits or for the quality of craftsmanship represented.

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505. May, Herbert G., Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult, pp. 12-34.

The condition of the deposits is remarkable in spite of roof-fall and the hostile climate. 907 pottery vessels (33% of the total of pottery deposits) were either intact or complete.[506] Pyxides (275, or 48% of the collection) were intact, more than any other type of vessel. The chalices suffered the greatest destruction - 102, or 85% of the collection. This preservation or destruction is due to the construction design of each vessel; pyxides are squat and globular, whereas the chalice has a bowl at the end of a center stem and therefore, vulnerable at the union of the two parts.

It was impossible to associate the deposits with individual burials except for the interment in niche H. The practice of multiple successive burials contributed to a vast disturbance of the objects, and the impact of the roof-fall was explosive, causing the breaking and packing of the deposits. The one exception, observed in niche H, gave a clue to the appropriate position of the offerings. The burial equipment included seven pottery vessels and one clam shell.[507] A small dipper juglet (P2769) and an extremely large lentoid flask (P2770) were placed at the head. These were intentionally placed at this point to be available for use to quench the thirst of the deceased. A medium-sized bowl (P2771), round bottom juglet (P2772), jug (P2773), pot (P2774), and a Cypriote milkbowl (P2775) were placed at the feet. With this collection of food and drink vessels, a clam shell was placed. No

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506. Cooley, op. cit., pp. 8, 18.

507. Ibid., pp. 203, 223, 239.

personal ornaments, implements, weapons, or ritual objects were included in the assemblage; the sole concern being the supply of food and drink. Based upon typological data, this burial represents one of the earlier interments (c.1400 B.C.) and preceded the use of the chamber floor area for burials.

The following tabulations will indicate the type of deposits and the number of each type.[508] Unusual objects will be singled out for description.

Personal Ornaments

Type	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total
Bracelet	1	0	0	1	0	2
Ring	6	6	2	30	10	54
Earring	0	9	0	9	0	18
Earring (gold)	0	0	0	0	1	1
Toggle pin	0	0	0	3	1	4
Button	0	0	0	1	0	1
Ivory pendant	1	1	0	0	0	2
Bead	?	?	?	?	?	(60+)
Pin	3	0	0	9	0	12
				Total Personal Ornaments		94

Weapons

Type	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total
Projectile point	2	0	1	1	0	4
Dagger	9	18	18	10	16	71
Spear point	2	7	5	3	2	19
				Total Weapons		94

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508. Tabulations are based upon the typological and numerical summaries recorded in the Field Report (Cooley), pp. 25-27.

Household Articles: Pottery Vessels

Type	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total
Lamp	115	163	108	116	76	578
Bowl	109	197	123	114	64	607
Jug	95	145	118	64	50	472
Pyxis	173	196	129	52	17	567
Flask	15	12	14	11	5	57
Krater	32	11	1	0	0	44
Pot	37	53	45	50	13	198
Chalice	25	33	31	24	6	119
Strainer spout	4	2	2	3	0	11
Jar	1	0	4	0	1	6
Jar stand	1	1	0	0	0	2
Zir	2	5	4	0	2	13
Funnel	0	1	1	1	0	3
Vase	0	1	0	2	1	4
Stirrup cup	1	3	8	9	0	21
Base-ring ware	0	0	0	6	0	6
Milk bowl	0	0	1	2	6	9
Zir bases	3	9	9	11	3	35
						2762
			1959 Season Total[509]			52
					Total Pottery Vessels	2814

Household Articles: Implements

Type	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total
Needle	0	1	0	0	0	1
Knife	0	2	1	1	0	4
Hook	0	0	0	2	0	2
Tweezer	0	0	0	2	0	2
Whorl	3	3	6	0	3	15
Burnishing stone	1	1	1	1	0	4
Spindle	3	2	1	0	0	6
					Total Implements	34

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509. Free, J. P., "The Sixth Season at Dothan," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Number 156, December, 1959, pp. 25-28. Not recorded in Cooley, Field Report.

Household Articles: Flora and Fauna

Type	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total
Shell	0	0	0	1	4	5
Skim	1	0	0	0	0	1
Olive pit	0	2	6	0	2	10
Fish	0	0	1	0	0	1
Sheep	1	1	0	0	0	2
					Total Flora and Fauna	19

Household Articles: Other Deposits

Type	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total
Alabaster	2	0	3	0	1	6
Faience	0	0	0	1	1	2
Bronze bowl	3	12	14	8	2	39
Bronze lamp	1	0	0	0	0	1
Ivory cup	0	0	0	1	0	1
Basalt bowl	1	0	0	3	0	4
Basalt platter	0	0	0	0	2	2
Basalt chalice	0	0	1	0	0	1
Limestone bowl	0	0	0	0	1	1
Seal	0	1	0	1	0	2
Game piece	0	0	0	0	1	1
					Total Other Deposits	60

Amulets and Ritual Objects

Type	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total
Scarab	4	7	4	10	0	25
Zoomorphic	2	2	1	0	0	5
Kernos ring	0	0	1	0	0	1
					Total Amulets and Ritual Objects	31

Summary: Burial Deposits

Personal Ornaments		94
Weapons		94
Household Articles		2927
Pottery Vessels	2814	
Implements	34	
Flora and Fauna	19	
Other deposits	60	
Amulets and Ritual Objects		31
	Total Deposits	3146

Finger rings were the most popular ornaments represented in the Dothan deposits. The majority were made of bronze and were circular in style. One silver ring and two open circle with flat top were also deposited. Bracelets and necklaces were rare. The few beads discovered in the tomb have not been analyzed as to material or shape at the time of the investigation. Also, toggle pins are extremely rare; only four being found. This is surprising in view of the large number of skeletons (288) present, and implies either that the bodies were buried unclothed, or only with a loin cloth or skirt-kilt type of garment. Two pendants of ivory, in the shape of a mallet or hammer, were located on the chest area of skeletons.[510] These are miniature tools and possibly represent the occupation of the deceased.

A limited number of weapons were deposited. Daggers were the most common, 71 examples in all. They were made of bronze, with tang to secure the handle. Several had the tang bent to keep the handle from slipping. In all examples, the handle had disappeared through decay, except four. Dagger B8 was cast in a closed mold and there were traces of wood in the handle.[511] Dagger B27 had a bone handle in excellent condition.[512] The other two had wooden fragments of the handles attached to the tangs. The only other weapons were projectile points and spearheads. Fragments of the wooden shafts remained in the sockets of

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510. Cooley, op. cit., pp. 216, 218.

511. Ibid., p. 206.

512. Ibid., p. 210.

spearheads B24, B26, and B28.[513]

Pottery vessels comprised the largest number of household articles - 2814. Bowls were the most common vessels. Lamps and pyxides were next in numerical numbers. Three lamps, each with seven nozzles, and a lamp with moulded figurine, are significant finds. The latter object had a male figure extended across the base of the lamp, with the head positioned so as to form a part of the nozzle.[514] The 567 pyxides form an extremely large corpus of this type. J. P. Free suggests that since there was approximately the same number of pyxides (567) as lamps (578), the pyxides probably were oil containers for the lamps.[515] Mycenaean and Cypriote wares are well represented also.

Household implements were limited, both in type and number. 15 whorls and 6 spindles attest to the textile industry. The knife, an important domestic implement, is represented by four specimens. Knife B142 had a recurved point.[516] All the other examples had a rounded end. Portions of the wooden handle remained on knife B89, along with the rivets used to attach it to the blade.[517]

Few remnants of the food offerings remained. The olive pits and sheep remains attest to the usual flora and fauna offerings. Shell fish

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513. Ibid., p. 210.

514. Ibid., p. 68.

515. Free, J. P., "The Seventh Season at Dothan," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Number 160, Dec., 1960, p. 12.

516. Cooley, op. cit., p. 212.

517. Ibid., p. 208.

were represented in the earliest use of the tomb (levels 4-5), and a fish vertebra was found in level 3.

Other deposits of household articles included alabaster, faience, bronze, basalt, ivory and limestone materials. Several pieces of white alabaster were found, but were so fragmentary that only one could be discerned (chalice, M72).[518] The faience bowl M71 was complete and decorated with painted lines on the bottom.[519] An extremely large collection of bronze bowls (39) was recovered. Probably the most significant bronze object was lamp B1.[520] It is identical to its pottery counterpart. Basalt vessels, typical of northern sites, were also buried with the Dothan dead.

Finally, objects connected with religion or ritual are rare. No figurines were found. Scarabs were the only amulets and comprise the largest number of objects (25) in this category. Significantly, more zoomorphic vessels (5) were found in the Dothan tomb than any other tomb in the culture area. All represent the bull and are constructed realistically, including the sexual attributes. These may have been associated with the popular fertility cult of the Canaanites. The Dothan tomb also included a simple kernos ring, the only tomb in the study to do so.[521] It was in good condition, and provided free communication

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518. Ibid., pp. 21, 223.

519. Ibid., p. 223.

520. Ibid., p. 204.

521. Ibid., p. 154.

between the hollow ring and the standing cups. May suggests the kernos ring was probably for libations: the wine would be poured into the cups to circulate throughout the hollow ring, symbolizing the fertility of the earth.[522] The Dothan practice, in regard to objects connected with religion, is identical to the uniform practice throughout the culture area; i.e. no concern is evident for the spiritual needs of the dead in the after-life.

At Dothan, as at every site studied in the investigation, the tomb deposits considered necessary for the dead in after-life were those which were used in everyday life. The objects were purely domestic and utilitarian. It must be presumed that the Dothanites had some recognition of the existence of an after-life in this provision of furnishings for the dead, but they seem to have had no feeling for the spiritual needs in this state.

II. Theologically Related Inferences

The body and religious belief:- The investigation indicates that a contrast in attitudes existed between the time of the burial of the body and the eventual destructive treatment of the skeletal remains of the same body after the flesh had decomposed. This shift in attitude seems to imply a particular belief of a netherworld as a place where the dead go and once they are there, they are no longer interested in the living and are powerless to influence their lives. Such a concept would explain the burial rites that were practiced. At the time of burial,

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522. May, op. cit., p. 18.

scrupulous care was exercised in the placement of the corpse and in the arrangement of tomb equipment. Apparently, the body had to be treated with respect on this particular occasion. Once the body was transformed into a pile of bones, it was treated with little respect and regard. It was the normal practice to sweep aside the bones and equipment into a heap, destroying both in the process, to make room for subsequent burials. Apparently, the Canaanites believed that the deceased was conscious of feeling and actually lived in the tomb as long as the flesh was in existence. Therefore, it needed food, drink and personal supplies which were possessions in life. But, once the flesh had disappeared, the deceased had arrived in the netherworld. Upon arrival in this afterlife, it could not affect the affairs of living men, and no longer needed the mortuary equipment. The descendants could with impunity destroy or remove such equipment. There could be no retaliation; the end of the trip had been accomplished as indicated by the complete decay of the flesh. This practice, in the opinion of the investigator, illuminates the belief of the Canaanites regarding an existence after death. Furthermore, such a belief sheds some light on the apparent deliberate removal of arms of bodies found in three Jericho tombs (J-9, H-6, and J-19).[523] Every single skeleton had been deprived of at least one forearm, and often both arms completely. Inasmuch as it may have been believed that the deceased was sentinent at the time of burial, the family removed an arm or arms to prevent the spirit of the dead person from doing harm to the survivors. Kenyon is correct in suggesting that an

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523. Kenyon, K., Jericho I, pp. 410, 453; Jericho II, p. 372.

element of belief or superstition was involved.[524]

The tomb and religious belief:- The evidence accumulated through the investigation definitely points to the fact that the tomb was not considered as the permanent residence of the dead, but a temporary place on the way to the nether world. It is conjectured by the investigator that this concept explains the general practice of despoilation and destruction; and, the lack of evidence for tomb equipment being provided for generations. Once the flesh decayed, the deceased had departed from the tomb for the nether world; therefore, the tomb served its function as a temporary station.

Furthermore, despoiling a tomb was not considered a religious offense. Prior deposits were swept away, broken, and in some instances thrown out of the chamber in order to make room for subsequent burials. Also, there is evidence that valuable or useful deposits were carried away by relatives or strangers. Jericho tombs P-19 and P-21 give the clearest evidence of tomb-despoilation.[525] Two skeletons and the associated primary burial in Tomb P-21 were all considerably disarranged. Yet, many of the bones were in articulation, including in some cases the small bones of the feet and hands. It is clear that some bones had been disturbed as the bodies lay in position and represent the activity of tomb robbers. Apparently, their objective was to secure valuable ornaments, inasmuch as no valuable objects were found in the deposits. The

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524. Ibid., (II) p. 171.

525. Ibid., pp. 388-390; 428-430.

evidence suggests that tombs were not regarded with a special sanctity.

Tomb installations of a cultic character are rare. In fact, only one excavator has identified such features in a burial complex; Yadin at Hazor.[526] Pits in the floor of a courtyard (9045, 9046, 9047, 9048) associated with burial caves, and cup-marks cut in a depression beneath burial recesses in Sub-area D4 may have served some cult purpose. A small votive bowl found in situ on the rock near one of the cup-marks suggests this interpretation.[527] However, in general, the investigation reveals no practice of incorporating cult features or installations into tomb architecture.

The deposits and religious belief:- The Canaanite belief in a life after death is amply supported by the vast amount of deposits provided the dead. Inasmuch as the deposits consisted of the things a man had needed in his everyday, secular life, the after-life was viewed as a mere extension of terestial existence. The material needs of the dead were the prime concerns of the burial trait. Deposits related to religious belief or ritual practice were rare, suggesting a curiously materialistic, but non-ritual, burial practice. Furthermore, there is no evidence of any deity to whom the dead could relate, either for enjoyment or protection, in the after life. In the opinion of the investigator, burial deposits were placed in the tombs to be used in the long and pathetic trip to the nether world. Once the trip was completed, the

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526. Yadin, Hazor I, pp. 100, 123.

527. Ibid., p. 123.

deposits were no longer needed and, therefore, could be broken, discarded or removed. This evidence indicates that the Canaanites had a religious belief in an after life, but cultic practices were not a part of the activity of the dead.

Cult of the dead:- As noted in Chapter One, certain scholars assume the existence of a cult of the dead, however, nowhere in the culture area was evidence uncovered in the investigation to indicate the existence of a cult of the dead.[528] Instead, the evidence indicates certain and widely-practiced burial rites and not the rites of a cult. The burial rites were performed only on the occasion of the interment. There is no evidence that burial furnishings were renewed periodically, nor were additional supplies placed in the tombs in the years which followed interment. If the evidence had indicated a regular repetition of bringing offerings and pouring libations to the dead on certain occasions, then a cult of the dead could be maintained. The dead were honored in burial but were not made the objects of any cult. It follows, in fact, the cult of the dead did not form part of the religious beliefs of the Canaanites.

The unique installation associated with Megiddo Tomb 234 may be a cenotaph,[529] where ritual was performed to invoke the "spirits" of those who died away from home to return to an appropriate burial place. If this be the intention of the feature then possibly there was the general

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528. See Chapter One, pp. 9-12.

529. See page 112.

belief that the "spirits" of the dead could not travel to the nether world unless there was a proper burial rite. The cenotaph, therefore, was a practical provision and not cultic in its design.

Only one tomb, Jericho Tomb H-11, suggests the possibility of a mortuary chapel associated with a place of burial.[530] A wooden vertical structure with oblique posts was associated with the surface area of the shaft. The structure covered an empty shaft leading to an unblocked entrance to the tomb chamber. Kenyon suggests this arrangement indicates a probable mortuary chapel. In view of the tenuous evidence at Jericho, and the lack of similar evidence from the other sites, it is accepted by the investigator that the Canaanites did not provide mortuary chapels for the presentation of offerings to the dead.

In summary, the existing evidence indicates that a cult of the dead did not exist as the burial practice of the Canaanites.

Dothan Tomb-1 and theological inferences:- The inferences which may be drawn from the Dothan Tomb are, in a large part, identical with those which have been drawn from the six selected sites. The evidence indicates that the body was treated with respect at the time of interment. Once transformed into a pile of bones, it was swept aside or "stacked," in the belief that the "spirit" of the dead had arrived in the nether world. In this fashion the dead were honored and their spirits placated and assisted for the trip into the after life. Therefore, the tomb served only as a temporary residence and could be used

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530. Kenyon, K., Jericho I, p. 470.

time after time for the placement of fresh burials. The "spirits" of the earlier dead had already vacated the chamber and departed for the nether world. Such a concept explains the existence of c.288 skeletons in the tomb debris. The majority of the 3146 deposits were of the domestic variety; common everyday vessels and implements used in the daily processes of living. Only 31 items could be classified as amuletic or ritual in purpose - 25 scarabs constituting the major type in this group. These objects were placed with the dead to satisfy their material needs, and upon their arrival in the nether world, the objects could be treated destructively or removed.

In contrast to the inferences drawn from the six selected sites, the Dothan tomb yielded two features which may be identified as ritualistic. The first feature consists of ritual ware - five bull vases and one kernos ring. Both vessels are commonly identified as being utilized in the ritual associated with the fertility cult.[531] The second contrasting feature is the window installation which provided access to the water supply for the dead. The Ras Shamra installations of a similar nature suggest that such features were provided for the sole purpose of quenching the thirst of the dead. On the other hand, the window installation could have been used by the living to pour water libations to the dead. The full meaning of such installations must await additional discoveries before a final interpretation may be suggested. Finally, it should be stated, the Dothan Tomb is dated in the Late Bronze II period

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531. May, op. cit., pp. 28, 34.

a time when Canaanite cultic practices were developed fully. It is to be expected that some representative features of the cult should be associated with the burial practice. However, these should not be construed to mean that a cult of the dead was in vogue.

III. Sociologically Related Inferences

The body and social custom:- The tombs are sufficient evidence in themselves that the Canaanites respected the dead by inhuming the body in a specially prepared burial site. There is no evidence of cremation; such a practice would violate the whole concept of a gradual trip to the nether world. Also, the dead were not placed on the surrounding slopes, exposed to the hostilities of climate or animals, to decay out in the open fields. It was the concern of the Canaanite to properly bury the body.

Certain skeletons indicate that there existed a relationship between the social rank of the deceased and the burial practice. Jericho Tomb J-3 contained the burial of a single individual.[532] Daggers, battle axes, and bronze belt suggest that the man was a warrior. A further indication of the rank of the dead man was the high quality pottery in the tomb equipment. In the shaft were parts of the skeleton of three asses. The unusual weapons, fine pottery, and the fact that he was buried alone may be indications of class distinction. Also, other Jericho Tombs show that persons of importance were placed on mud-brick platforms or wooden

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532. Ibid., p. 306.

beds.[533] Similarly, stone platforms were provided for special burials at Gibeon,[534] and Megiddo.[535] A system of tunnels and rockcut subterranean halls of various sizes in Hazor Area F may have served as the burial place of princes and nobles, according to Yadin.[536] Persons of rank or wealth, therefore, were afforded special provision, whereas the vast majority of common people lay on the chamber floors of the tombs.

The evidence associated with the toggle pins suggests that only the richer part of the population was buried in full garment. Skeletons far outnumber toggle pins - at Jericho the ratio is 4 skeletons to 1 pin[537] - indicating the greater part of the population was buried unclothed, or in a short garment not requiring a pin. Exquisite garments, worn by royalty or the nobility, are not in evidence.

Very few examples exist which would reflect a special social attitude toward the position taken in the placement of the body. The overwhelming evidence indicates a lack of concern. Normally, the body was placed supine, sometimes with the knees raised, and without consistency in directional orientation.[538] On occasion, i.e. Megiddo Tomb-20,[539]

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533. Ibid., pp. 453ff., 486; Jericho II, p. 428.

534. Pritchard, op. cit., p. 61.

535. Guy, op. cit., p. 72.

536. Yadin, Y., Hazor II, p. 127.

537. Kenyon, K., Jericho II, p. 567.

538. For bearing upon the קמצון-position see: Kutscher, Eduard, "קמצון", Lesonenu (לשוננו), Vol. XXXI, No. 2, January 1967, pp. 115-116.

539. Guy, op. cit., p. 72.

a body would be placed in an attitude of sleep. The position of infants in store-jars was quite uniformly embryonic.

Apparently no social violation was committed when skeletons were disturbed or destroyed at the time of the reuse of a tomb. Long bones of earlier burials were deliberately cast out, and in some tombs, only the skulls were treated with some care for preservation.[540] Possibly, these skulls were preserved as an act of venerating ancestors.

The tomb and social custom:- The tomb served a practical social function to rid the living of a decaying corpse, thus freeing them from the nauseous smells of corruption and from the horror of seeing the body decompose. The Canaanites, generally, located their tombs outside settlement areas, but together in a "City of the Dead." It is clear that the city of the dead as a collective representation, was considered as a symbolic replica of the living community: select individuals were accorded "status" in burial, family groups remained intact in death, and the everyday goods were deposited with the dead. Therefore, a necropolis is a material artifact reflecting the community life of a Canaanite settlement. This concept is precisely illustrated in the artist's reconstructions of a room at Jericho of about 1600 B.C.[541]

Apparently, it was intended to bury certain dead in the settlement area, and in close proximity to the living. Such inclinations may have been motivated by sentiment or by fear. Certainly, the infant jar-

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540. Kenyon, op. cit., pp. 312, 368, 438, 447.

541. Kenyon, Kathleen, Digging Up Jericho, end papers.

burials, placed just beneath the floors of the living areas represent an attempt to keep the family unit intact as much as possible. Since the infant had not lived a full-life, which at its end a normal interment would have been with the ancestors in the necropolis, it was placed within the home in an attempt to maintain sentimental relationships. The burial of individual adults within settled areas may represent the practice of placing honored or revered persons near at hand, or an attempt to safeguard the body from some sort of desecration.[542]

The Canaanite tombs give very little evidence to indicate levels of society. No tombs were discovered which would suggest a distinction between royalty and the common people such as is found in Egypt where pyramids and large rock-hewn tombs were for royalty and sand-pits for the common man, or at Mycenae where tholos tombs were used for kings and chamber tombs used for the people in general.[543] It could be that the surviving evidence is only representative of the upper levels of society, and that the lower levels were not accorded such elaborate burial and no evidence survives for this segment of the population.[544] Furthermore, it is also possible, that no royal burial has yet been uncovered in the Canaanite culture area and, therefore, the tombs discovered represent a general cross-section of society and a uniform burial practice for all social levels. Social status would then be reflected in the quality and

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542. Ibid., p. 213.

543. Mylonas, op. cit., p. 111.

544. Kenyon, K., Jericho II, p. 170.

quantity of burial deposits, and not in tomb architecture.

There was no hesitation to reuse the tombs, with multiple interments being the normal burial practice. The social implications of such a trait are many. First, by the use of existing tombs, efforts in tomb-digging were conserved. The great majority of Middle Bronze burials were re-used tombs of the Intermediate Bronze Age.[545] Second, few tombs constituted a necropolis. Due to the size of the chambers and the multiple interment practice, the few tombs were sufficient for the demand. Third, a single tomb and its interments represent a family vault and group. The continuity of the family unit would be maintained by such a practice. It follows, the tomb represents a family plot within the cemetery area. And fourth, the tomb-use spanned several generations. When a family ceased to use a tomb, it died its own death, and became a historical monument.

Once a tomb was no longer utilized for burials, it appears that it could be cleared or adapted to serve other functions without social stigma being attached to its latter use. For example, the types of deposits and installations in Megiddo Tomb 37 show that it had been used for both mortuary and domestic purposes.[546] The domestic use represents the final phase of occupation and is indicated by three kilns, an oven, and some well-cut stone walls. Numerous burials were found below this level of domestic features. Apparently, there was no social reproach

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545. Kenyon, K., Jericho I, p. 2; Pritchard, op. cit., p. 71.

546. Guy, op. cit., p. 74-77.

in adapting the tomb to a living and work area.

The deposits and social custom:- The Canaanite practice of providing the dead with all the requirements of domestic life is of particular interest in supplying evidence for certain social attitudes and practices. It can be deduced from the types of deposits what were the normal objects in an ordinary house. Vessels, furniture, implements, personal and toilet accessories constituted the usual household assemblage. There were very few weapons, and hardly any objects associated with religion. Once in awhile an object may appear to be an heirloom.[547] The objects which served the material needs of the living, also were thought to be capable of serving the needs of the dead.

The quantity and quality of deposits perhaps may be attributed to the social status of the deceased. If Jericho Tomb J-3 is that of a warrior, than the unusually fine quality of pottery can be properly explained as only that which is appropriate for an aristocrat.[548] The placement of furniture may also be considered as an indicator of social distinction. Burial A in Jericho Tomb H-18 lies on a wooden bed, a fact which suggests wealth or superior status.[549] Other tombs were equipped with stools and tables. It seems probable that only the richer households possessed wooden furniture, whereas the common people possessed only rush mats on which to sit or sleep. Also, wooden staves were

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547. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 246.

548. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 308.

549. Ibid., p. 488.

sometimes placed beside the dead and may perhaps be a sign of rank.[550] None of the deposits suggests any great riches. Gold objects are seldom found. Either these were stolen, or the inhabitants did not own such precious objects, or were not rich enough to spare them as offerings for the dead. Individuals banished from society, such as criminals, would hardly have been supplied with much mortuary equipment. The evidence in Jericho Tomb P-19 certainly suggests such a social attitude.[551]

The nature of some deposits suggest certain social notions. Faulty deposits may be interpreted as poverty or stinginess. Bottomless juglets in large storage jars would have been useless to the thirsty spirits of the dead and appears to be a case of fraud.[552] Furthermore, patched jars provide evidence that in some cases relatives were poor or were not wasting a brand new jar by depositing it with the dead. Evidence of inferior deposits is also seen in the sherds which were used as dishes or lamps.[553] However, this may merely reflect a normal practice of everyday life; when a vessel was broken its usefulness was not terminated. The broken sherds could serve as dippers of liquids, carriers of coals, or oil lamps.

Metal deposits often appear to have been deliberately bent or intentionally "killed." It is suggested that this practice set free the

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550. Kenyon, K., Jericho II, p. 390.

551. Ibid., p. 390.

552. Kenyon, K., Jericho I, p. 488.

553. Ibid., pp. 337, 370.

object's soul to accompany the spirit of its dead owner.[554] The Megiddo Tombs provide the largest number of examples for such a social trait. Tomb 911A had a "killed" dagger blade.[555] In the same tomb two axeheads had been "killed" by crushing the sockets.[556] Tomb 1100 contained two daggers, intentionally bent, and placed in a special wall niche.[557] An arrowhead in Tomb 4 may have been "killed."[558]

The Jericho expedition recovered evidence of contemporary tomb-robbing, and the eventual execution of the criminals. Tomb P-19, for example, contained six skeletons completely undisturbed.[559] The skulls indicated that all had been killed by violent blows on the head with a blunt instrument. In addition, two individuals lack their right hands. Kenyon conjectures that the robbers were caught in the act, and their hands were cut off according to the normal treatment of thieves in the Near East, and were executed with other members of the family and placed in the tomb they had violated. This whole feature is an example of the importance of burials for the reconstruction of social customs of the Canaanites.

Health and causes of death:- Evidence for the causes of death and the condition of health of the Canaanite populace is scarce. Very

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554. Saller, op. cit., p. 171.

555. Guy, op. cit., p. 67.

556. Ibid., p. 68.

557. Ibid., p. 89.

558. Ibid., p. 101.

559. Kenyon, K., Jericho II, pp. 388ff.

little reliable data can be inferred from the skeletal material. That which is available suggest three salient points. First, the multiple simultaneous burials of entire families indicates that death was due to some sort of disease. The skeletons show no signs of injuries, nor does the tomb equipment suggest that a whole family was killed to accompany the household head. The types of illnesses to which these individuals succumbed could not be determined. Some evidence for long bone ostertis, arthritis, and oral diseases has been examined in the Jericho remains.[560] It can be assumed that the standard of health cannot be regarded as high. Second, death by execution is suggested by the evidence for violent blows to the head and cut-off hands in Jericho Tomb P-19, described above. Third, the study of Lachish crania suggests a high proportion of immature persons in the necropolis population.[561] Beyond these points, the investigation reveals little data to reach any definite conclusion regarding causes of death.

Dothan Tomb-1 and sociological inferences:- The interpretation of the Dothan burial data suggest no contrasting social practices to those which have been identified throughout the culture area. In this regard, apparently, there are no local variations in the implementing of social customs. The inferences which may be drawn from the material suggest complete agreement to the standard practiced at all selected sites.

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560. Ibid., pp. 685-693.

561. Tufnell, op. cit., p. 318.

Bodies were given a proper burial in a specially hewn tomb. The provision of niches and crypts for a few select individuals may suggest that these individuals were important and of greater social rank.[562] Multiple interments (c.288) were made in the tomb, indicating that it served a family and its descendants for several generations - possibly three hundred years as indicated by the ceramic tradition. This family vault was associated with other tombs,[563] forming a plot within the necropolis on the western slopes of the tell outside of the settlement area.

The usual everyday vessels, implements, ornaments and weapons constituted the tomb equipment. Very few objects associated with ritual practices were discovered. Likewise, the evidence for wealth is lacking, unless the 39 bronze bowls, one bronze lamp and one gold earring are considered to be indicative of riches.[564] Numerous (34) storage-jar bases were found, but no jar-rims were associated with the deposits.[565] This means that the jars were placed in the tomb in a fragmentary condition and could possibly indicate fraudulent activity on the part of the relatives. However, since many of these jar bases had smaller vessels inside, it is suggested that they functioned as carrying

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562. Cooley, op. cit., pp. 8, 22, 224, 228, 233, 239.

563. Dothan Tomb 2 (Iron I) and Tomb 3 (Iron I) will be published in future issues of the Bulletin of The American Schools of Oriental Research.

564. Cooley, op. cit., p. 26.

565. Ibid., pp. 240-248.

containers.[566] Broken in the normal course of daily activity, they were then put into this secondary use. Since the skeletal material has not been professionally studied, there is no data available for the standard of health or the causes for death of the Dothanites.

In conclusion, the investigation has shown that there is abundant archaeological evidence for a uniform burial pattern in the Canaanite culture area. Also, there are local variations, but these do not detract from the universal pattern. Instead, they serve to enrich it by stressing local creative acts and craftsmanship. The Dothan Tomb-1 compares exceptionally well with the established culture traits of the area. However, it too, has its own unique features to mark it distinctively. A complex combination of burial rites and ideological concepts existed in Middle-Late Bronze Age Canaan.

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566. Ibid., p. 22.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY: A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CANAANITE BURIAL PATTERN

The investigation of mortuary remains affirms that the Canaanites had a pattern for dealing with the death of their fellows. A universal pattern emerges which suggests that death was a most significant event for the individual as well as for society. It was an occasion set off by ritual and ceremony. The Canaanite went through a rite of passage - a formal withdrawal from society, a period of seclusion, and a formal re-entry into society.[567] Each phase was characterized by clearly defined rites, which collectively served three vital functions: the disposal of the body; the reorientation of the bereaved; and, the readjustment of society back to everyday activities. Therefore, death, as a rite of passage marked the completion of a life, and also reaffirmed the social character of Canaanite existence. Such rites benefited the living.

Furthermore, the investigation infers that the rites for the dead symbolized and gave expression to religious beliefs. The religious aspect of the burial rite was a technique designed to secure a form of life for the dead beyond the grave. A twofold objective is suggested by this technique: to keep the dead alive, and to keep them away. These objectives were incompatible and reflect a basic contradiction in the

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567. Van Gennep, op. cit., pp. 146ff.

religious attitude towards death. On the one hand, the rites were intended to put the deceased "to rest", to avert their wrath, and to console them; all presuppose that the dead were really alive and dangerous. On the other hand, such a practice as providing food, drink, household articles and personal ornaments suggest an attempt to preserve life in the dead, on the assumption that otherwise this force would die. The contradiction suggests an uncertainty about the relation of death to life. Such an objective benefited the dead. The burial pattern thus served to link the immortal, the individual, and society.

A reconstruction of the burial pattern is possible only when the literary evidence and the archaeological data are combined. Without the archaeological data, the rite of separation would be incomplete and the physical procedures of separation would be colorless. Without the literary indications, the rite of transition and the rite of incorporation would go undetected and would tend to focus attention primarily upon the disposal of the dead. The combined evidence illuminates a burial pattern which focuses attention upon the religious as well as the social character of Canaanite existence.

Rite of Passage

Death was viewed by the Canaanites as terminating corporeal existence, and initiating a new state of being. It was considered as passage between modes of being. Such a concept of death directly affected the living, and defined the new existence of the dead. The rite is divided into three sub-categories.

Rites of separation:- At the time of a death, the related Canaanite community observed specific rites of separation.[568] These rites were a prominent feature of the burial pattern.

Importance was attached to the disposal of the body and this involved certain physical procedures of separation. Motivation for a proper burial stem from the belief that the spirit of the deceased must be incorporated into the world of the dead, as well as this act would be a suitable demonstration of loyalty, love and kindness. The body was clad in a grave-shroud or in everyday dress, and removed immediately to the burial site. The literary evidence indicates the burial took place as soon as possible after death.[569] This was a practical need in view of the hot climate in the Near East.

The corpse was interred in a special necropolis, a social place set aside for this purpose. In general, the burial site was located outside the settlement area, in the accessible limestone escarpments. This "city of the dead" was a symbolic replica of the living community. In certain cases, burial was made within the settlement of the living, i.e. infant burials, revered persons, or when protection against desecration was essential. The dead, in either instance, remained close to the living, thereby giving the survivors opportunity to persistently contemplate their fate and destiny.

Canaanite tombs were primarily of three types: grave-pits, jar-

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568. See Chapter Three, pp. 61-62.

569. See Chapter Three, p. 77.

burials, and chamber tombs. The latter type was the most common. The ordinary plan of the chamber tomb includes a deep shaft, an entrance way, and a varied-shape chamber. These tombs were cut directly into the native rock. In no case is there concern for a specific orientation. Such elaborate preparations for a final resting-place, indicates that the living attempted to make provision for the comfort and happiness of the dead. In addition, the investigation clearly displays a uniform architectural tradition in all cemeteries, suggesting a universal practice for all social levels. These tombs are, in fact, common tombs, used by a family over a considerable period. In death, as in life, provision was made for continued association with the family. Two very important functions were served by the tombs: first, it was an established place where the decaying corpse could be disposed and, second, it was a place where the family could maintain and express their intimate relations with their dead.

Multiple successive inhumations were the rule. No receptacles were used. Earlier burials were unceremoniously swept aside, providing a cleared space for the fresh interment. Over a long period of time the skeletal remains and burial deposits would almost reach the roof. In some cases disintegration of the roof laid a level of debris over the remains, instead of clearing this away, burials would be placed on top of this layer. Such cases provide quasi-stratification for the archaeologist. In all instances, a bedding layer was provided for the dead to insure their comfort while at rest. The general position of the bodies was supine, thereby imitating the position of a person asleep. Such an interpretation is in agreement with Danel's threatening statement to the

eagles: "May Baal break the pinions of them, as they fly over the grave of my son, rousing him from his sleep." In the case of the death of an entire family, a multiple simultaneous burial was practiced. Social status was signified, not by tomb design, but by providing special beds or platforms for the body, and high-quality deposits. This trait undoubtedly represents the belief in the continuity of the earthly way of life even after death. A man's status in the after life was determined by his status on earth; his requirements were thought to correspond to his requirements on earth.

An abundant supply of food, drink and equipment was placed around the body. The deposits represent what was considered necessary provision for the nether world and for the trip there, and was the equipment used by the dead during his everyday life. Four major types of deposits were considered for mortuary use: personal adornments, military equipment, household articles, and amuletic-ritual objects. Objects of personal adornment include jewelry, clothing, and toilet articles. Weapons were deposited as the special furnishing of men, but not in any large numbers. Daggers, spears, arrows and battle-axes comprise the weaponry. Bowls were the most common household articles furnished the dead. The high proportion of lamps indicate that light in the tomb was thought to be important, being symbolic of life. A variety of other pottery vessels embellished the deposits: cooking-pots, platters, goblets, strainer spouts, jugs, jars, chalices and flasks. Finer and much more valuable vessels of alabaster, faience, and bronze were deposited. A belief that life in the nether world was to be restful and not concerned with the details of work is seen in the fact that very few implements were

found in the tomb excavations. Wooden beds, tables and stools enriched the deposits of household articles. There were very few articles of an amuletic-ritual nature, thereby indicating a lack of concern for the spiritual needs of the dead. Such tomb equipment represents a pathetic attempt to preserve the semblance of the estate of the living.

Following interment, the final physical procedure of separation for the dead was the concealment of the chamber entranceway and the filling of the shaft with debris. The final act may have been the drinking of a toast in honor of the interred.[570] The separation of the Canaanite dead to such a nondynamic existence avoided any possibility of his upsetting the equilibrium between the world of the living and that of the dead.

The rites of separation for the living are few in number and very simple in contrast to the elaborate ritual for the dead. The Canaanite in performing the burying rite did so in a spirit and display of personal grief and sorrow. Both Anath and Danel proceed to bury their dead in such a spirit of grief and bereavement. Through the death-experience a new social role - the role of a bereaved person - was imposed upon the Canaanite bereaved which separated him from others in his society.

The new social role was immediately characterized by the bereaved abstaining from social activities and from public diversions. Canaanites, bereaved of near relatives, lived in social seclusion, thereby had op-

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570. See Chapter Four, pp. 85-86.

portunity to work through and come to terms with their loss. Restricted social intercourse was observed as a rite of separation by Keret in his mourning for the loss of his family. Similarly, Danel withdrew to ritual isolation, which eventually ended with an act of washing. Social life was suspended for all those affected by bereavement. Thus, the bereaved entered the mourning period through rites of separation.

Rites of transition:- The period of grief reaction constituted a transitional phase. Investigation of the literary data indicates that the Canaanites had explicit rules of behavior which were followed by the mourner. This behavior pattern composed the rites of transition, which was a period of intense mourning.

Typically, upon receiving word of death there was violent grief behavior of weeping and crying. In all three accounts, weeping is graphically portrayed by the authors. Anath wept bitterly for Baal; Kret soaked his bed by his weeping; and, Danel inters Aqhat, weeping as he does. Weeping was a great emotional manifestation and served to give vent to the feelings of sadness and despair. Personal lamentation accompanied such activity.

Typically, the mourners were distinguished by a change in their physical appearance and activity. Garments were torn and sackcloth was worn. The pitiful state of sorrow and grief was demonstrated physically by either sitting on a low stool or on the ground, and by lying on a bed. In this state of complete despair, earth was placed on the head. It was the practice to self-inflict wounds and disfigure the body - incisions were made on the body and the hair and beard were cut. It is the opinion

of the investigator that these practices served to indicate to all who came into contact with them that they were mourners and they were to be treated in a specified ritualistic fashion. In addition, these practices may be regarded as attempts to focus the attention of the mourner upon himself and therefore hasten his emancipation from the deceased.

Typically, there was communal lamentation. Professional female mourners function in the Legend of Aqhat, and in the Epic of Kret. Women were employed in this role because of their greater emotivity and sensitivity, and therefore, they met more adequately the requirements of expressing grief in their social role of the bereaved person.

Typically, the mourner went through a rite of passage - a formal withdrawal from society, a transitory period of expressing grief, and a formal re-entry into society. The investigation discovered only one allusion to the length of time given to the transitory period of mourning - Danel wept seven years for Aqhat. Certainly, such a lengthy period was unusual and may, in this case, be an indication of the high social position of king Danel. The mourner emerged from the rites of transition by an act of washing.

The investigation of the archaeological data suggests that the transitional phase of the living had its counterpart in a transitional phase for the deceased. This suggestion is seen in the contrast of attitudes which existed between the time of interment and the eventual destructive treatment of the skeleton after the flesh had decayed. The period of transition is represented as the time period required for the flesh to decompose; and, the time required for the spirit to journey to

the world of the dead. During this phase the dead needed his equipment which he used in his lifetime, but had no use for them after the flesh had decayed. The dead could interfere in the life of the living during the transition, therefore, he was feared and placated with deposits. Once the body was transformed into a pile of bones, he could no longer influence the living and had no need for the furnishings. Deposits could be broken or removed, and the bones pushed aside or swept out of the chamber. The transition period terminated with the incorporation of the deceased into the world of the dead.

Rites of incorporation:- Reintegration of the bereaved into the life of Canaanite society was achieved by certain rites which lifted all the regulations and prohibitions of mourning. Personal interest was again directed outward.

The literary data alludes to five rites observed by the Canaanite in the lifting of mourning. First, a rite of purification was performed. King Kret ended his period of mourning, washed himself, and resumed his public duties with an act of worship. The dead were considered unclean, and the rite of washing symbolized the mourner's separation from the dead and his entry into normal intercourse with society. Second, professional mourners were dismissed. They were no longer needed, inasmuch as the mourner had assumed his normal activity in the community. Third, an act of worship was performed. After dismissing the weeping-women, Danel offered a sacrifice to the gods. Such a rite identified the bereaved with society, thereby recognizing its solidarity as a social and religious unit. Fourth, the mourning rites were brought to conclusion by a

ritual dance. The relatives of Danel joined him in the courtyard of his palace for dances. This activity demonstrated that the community had turned back to everyday pursuits with a sense of having done the right and proper things about the social loss. Fifth, a funeral feast was the final rite which marked the end of the mourning period. Anath prepared a feast for Baal of oxen, sheep, deer, wild goats and asses seventy-fold; a feast appropriate for a god. The feast signified that the deceased was duly separated from the living and united with the dead. Furthermore, as a rite of incorporation, the meal shared after mourning reunited the survivors with each other. Public acknowledgment and commemoration of a death asserted the viability of the group. By performing the proper rites the Canaanites reintegrated themselves into society.

The archaeological data infers that the dead were incorporated into the world of the dead once the flesh had decomposed, and not at the time of the interment in the tomb. The tomb was not considered as the permanent residence of the dead, but a temporary station on the way to the nether world.

In summary, the investigation of Canaanite burial practices illuminates the death-event as a <u>rite of passage</u>, set off by ritual and ceremony. The living and the dead passed through three stages: a period of separation, a period of transition, and a final period of incorporation.

<u>Cult of the Dead</u>

The burial rites of the Canaanites have sometimes been interpreted

as a cult of the dead.[571] The dead were accorded the status of divinities and the living sought to secure their goodwill by placing offerings in the tombs. Nowhere in the culture area was evidence uncovered in the investigation to indicate the existence of a cult of the dead.

The burial rites were performed only on the occasion of the interment. The investigation uncovered no evidence that burial deposits were repeatedly placed with the dead; no evidence for the involvement of the local priests in the burial ritual; no installations in the tombs which would serve ritual purposes; and finally, burial furnishings connected with religion or ritual were rare. The auxiliary opening in the Dothan tomb was provided the dead in order that they might have access to a supply of water set aside in the large storage jars to quench their thirst. The motivation for this provision is to be found in the concern of the living for the physical needs of the dead, and not their spiritual needs.

The care taken to provide the dead with furnishings of a materialistic nature at the time of his inhumation was nothing more than a belief in survival after death and a feeling of affection towards the dead. Such concern for the well-being of the dead in the tomb was not a cult of the dead, nor were these rites acts of worship directed towards the dead. In this light, the amulets were utilized only as magical safeguards against danger which might have been encountered during the journey to the world of the dead.

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571. See Chapter One, pp. 9-12.

Honor was rendered to ancestors and was considered an essential filial duty. Baal implores El to grant King Danel a son capable of performing the proper duties towards his father during his life and after his death. The proper rite was centered in the local sanctuary and consisted of pronouncing the name, offering food, and pouring water. By such action, the son symbolized and ensured relationship with the departed father and at the same time cemented the ties of the kindred. This duty was similar to that which required the surviving relatives to supply the departed with food and drink. There is no evidence that ancestors were deified.

The Canaanite burial rite had as its purpose the launching of the deceased safely and securely on his new career in the after-life. Behind it lay a combination of emotions of fear, respect, veneration, affection and a genuine desire for the well-being of the departed whose death was mourned. Participation in the funeral ritual prepared the survivors for the death that awaited them and strengthened belief in their own future life. The investigation indicates that the Canaanites had a religious belief in an after-life, but a cult of the dead was not a part of their cultural activities. Therefore, the investigation is in agreement with the views of deVaux and Cornfeld: the dead were honored in a religious spirit, but no cult was paid to them.[572] Finally, it is noted that nowhere is ancestor-worship or a cult of the dead referred to in the Bible.[573] Why? It is the opinion of the investigator that no

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572. See Chapter One, pp. 11-12.

573. Kaufmann, Yehezkel, The Religion of Israel, p. 313.

cult of the dead existed in Canaan; therefore, no Hebrew reaction was required.

The Canaanite viewed death as the lot of all men. It was not the absolute end of life, but a rite of passage to a world of the dead characterized as a subterranean region where there was inertia, thirst and dirt for food. Therefore, it was essential to bury the dead and ensure the spirit of the deceased admission to that world of the dead. The rites performed at death lend color and richness to our understanding of Canaanite culture. While death was accepted, it was accepted only passively. The postponement of death was a joyous occasion.[574]

Archaeological Methodology and Interpretation In Tomb Excavation

The investigation demonstrates the importance of tomb excavation. Tombs and graves can tell a very interesting story about the cultural achievements and the religious beliefs of the people that were buried in them. The total number of tombs excavated must be significantly large to allow for conclusions to be drawn. During the course of the study some observations were made that relate to an improved methodology and interpretation in tomb excavation.

First, the burial rite was a conservative element in the Canaanite culture of the Middle and Late Bronze periods. Therefore, a change in the rite would suggest a foreign intrusion or the presence of a new people in the culture area. Since it is believed that a cultural

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574. See Chapter Three, p. 55

continuity existed in Ancient Palestine from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age and into the Iron Age,[575] the invading Israelites must have adopted it to a large degree. However, it is the opinion of the investigator that Israelite burials will be different in character due to Israel's unique religious belief and outlook. Once Israelite tombs have been excavated in sufficient numbers, the burial pattern can be reconstructed and compared to the Canaanite pattern. As soon as this can be achieved then there is a chance that the Israelites and the Canaanites can be distinguished socially. Hebrew history will then need to be reviewed and re-assessed, particularly the historical problems connected to the settlement.

Second, tomb excavation provides a cross section of the material culture of the Canaanites and is extremely valuable in illustrating the everyday life of the living within the period in which the burial took place. Pottery vessels are discovered in a better condition, many are intact than those uncovered in the living areas of the city. Furthermore, the artifacts found in a tomb serve as complete models for the reconstruction of sherds or fragments from similar objects found on the tell. In addition, chronological relationships between artifacts can be established, since objects from a single undisturbed tomb are homogeneous as to date. The archaeological record, therefore, of a given site is incomplete without evidence from the site's necropolis.

Third, tomb excavation makes a contribution to population

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575. Kenyon, Kathleen, Amorites and Canaanites, p. 5.

estimates of a site, but it is difficult to make the number of skeletons approach a reasonable estimate of the population. It is unlikely that the archaeologist can recover all of the tombs of a given period for a given site. In addition, the poorer members of a site may not have utilized the burial rites shown by the surviving evidence, therefore, no evidence of this part of the population survives. Tomb evidence must be considered, but with caution, in demographic studies.

Fourth, superimposition within the tomb fill must be used carefully if meaningful data is to be secured. Since it was a practice to place burials on top of debris laid down by roof fall, such cases provide admirable stratification for the archaeologist. This situation is useful in determining chronological sequence for the tomb use. However, it should be recognized that small objects tended to slip to the bottom, and deposits were disturbed during the reuse of the chamber. Proper controls must be recognized if the stratification is to yield reliable data.

Fifth, the careful excavation and observation of human remains can produce evidence which is vital to the overall picture of the burial practice. The superior treatment of skeletal material at Jericho demonstrates the value of a careful methodology.[576] The inadequate publication of human remains by most archaeologists is due in part to the disregard for bones uncovered. A qualified person to handle the material, or the preservation of the remains for subsequent analysis, would add important data to an understanding of the burial patterns in the ancient Near East.

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576. Kenyon, Kathleen, Jericho I, pp. 263-267; Jericho II, pp. 664-720.

APPENDIX A

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Material Remains

The term material remains was used to refer to any object manifesting visible human modification, be it monumental, artifactual or epigraphical.

Canaan

The term Canaan was used to refer to the land and inhabitants of the Syro-Palestinian coastland in pre-Israelite times from the Egyptian frontier south of Gaza to the northern boundary of Ugarit. Genesis 10:15-18 includes the Hittite, Jebusite, Amorite, Hivite and Girgashite peoples, explaining that "the families of the Canaanite spread abroad."[577] This indicates an awareness of the extraordinary ethnic diversity in the land.

It is suggested that 'Canaan' derives from kinahna, a term of possible Hurrian origin (knaggi),[578] and used to denote the eastern Mediterranean littoral.[579] The much-prized purple dye Kinahhu was

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577. Genesis 10:18.

578. "Phoenicia," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. George Buttrick (New York: Abington Press, 1962), Vol. K-Q, p. 800.

579. "Canaanites," Ibid., Vol. A-D, p. 494.

produced from the shell-fish native to these coastlands. When the Greeks came into contact with the Canaanites through their commercial endeavors they called them "Phoenicians" and their land "Phoenicia" from the Greek word φοίνιξ meaning red purple. The name Phoenicia (φοινίκη) is thus a translation of the name Canaan (כְּנַעַן) which means "land of purple." "Historically, geographically, and culturally, the terms "Canaanite" and "Phoenician" mean precisely the same thing."[580]

In the Old Testament, "Canaan" is used as a designation of the land-area west of the Jordan river (Genesis 12:5; Numbers 33:51). Other references (Numbers 13:29, 14:25; Joshua 11:3) indicate the Canaanites occupied a limited area at the coast and in the plain. Thus, the country of Canaan may refer to a limited area or to the wider area of the Syro-Palestinian coastland.

A more restricted meaning of the term 'Canaanite' is 'merchant;' trading being a most characteristic Canaanite occupation. The stele of Amen-hotop II (about 1447-1421 B.C.) lists among his Syrian captives "550 Maryannu (noble-warriors) and 640 Canaanites."[581] Maisler has concluded that the 640 Canaanites found in the company of noble-warriors are of the merchant "plutocracy of the coastal and the trading centers of Syria and Palestine."[582] This meaning may be found in the Old Testament: Isaiah 23:8: Ezekiel 17:4 and Zephaniah 1:11.

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580. Wright, G. Ernest and Filson, Floyd V., The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible, p. 33.

581. Pritchard, James B., Ancient Near Eastern Texts, p. 246.

582. Maisler, B., "Canaan and The Canaanites," The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Number 102 (1946), p. 9.

The total extent of the eastern Mediterranean coastal area was preferred in this investigation to designate the Land of Canaan. The term Canaanite was preferred to designate the inhabitants of this land-area.

Culture Area

The term culture area was used to refer to the Canaanite land-area, a region in which all the groups show cultural resemblances to each other and standardized units of behavior have been isolated for archaeological study. The comparative unity of culture in Syro-Palestine is demonstrated by the substantial agreement between the Bible references to Canaanite culture, by material remains from various sites in the area, and by the abundant documentary evidence from Ugarit. Where there are variations these have been imposed by local ecology. Further, Palestine, which was central in this study, proves to be provincial in comparison to the great urban centers of the Syrian coast.

Also, the Canaanite culture area was essentially the land-bridge of the Ancient Near East and its inhabitants were content to assimilate elements from the cultures of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and of Crete, Cyprus and Mycenae.

Burial Pattern

The term burial pattern was used to refer to the regularities of burial practice abstracted upon observing a series of burial phenomena.

Cult of the Dead

The term Cult of the Dead was used to refer to the ritual which involves a kind of worship of the dead. Motivation for the cult stems from the belief that the spirits of the dead need to be placated and in turn the living, by performing the ritual, ensure the continuance of the favor and help on earth of the dead.[583]

Middle and Late Bronze Ages

The term Middle Bronze Age was used to refer to the period of 1900 to 1500 B.C. and the Late Bronze Age to the period of 1500 to 1200 B.C. The use of the term Bronze Age is in accordance with the traditional terminology of archaeological sequence of cultures, and represents the period of 3000 to 1200 B.C. The last seven centuries of the Bronze Age are divided into two subdivisions, the Middle Bronze Age and the Late Bronze Age.[584]

> ". . . The beginning of the Middle Bronze Age was ushered in by the appearance of a new group of people. This is clearly indicated by the appearance of new pottery, new weapons, new burial customs and a revival

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583. Wace, Alan J. B., Mycenae, p. 15.

584. It is now generally recognized by Near Eastern Archaeologists that this designation is a misnomer. Emmanuel Anati says, "This terminology turned out to be obsolete, as bronze was not introduced into common use until about one thousand years after the beginning of this period. On the other hand, the term 'Bronze Age' is usually used in Europe and elsewhere for societies which had no urban settlements, and whose economic, social, and political bases were different from those we find in the Near East at this time. The term 'Urban Age' appears to define this epoch better." Palestine Before the Hebrews, pp. 317-318. Anati prefers the terminology and chronological scheme:

of town life. Unlike their predecessors, they came from an area possessing a developed civilization, for it is

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Early Urban Age	3300 to 1850 B.C.
Middle Urban Age	1850 to 1550 B.C.
Late Urban Age	1550 to 1200 B.C.

Since the excavation reports for the selected sites use the older terminology, no attempt was made to convert the Bronze Age terminology into the new scheme. Some Palestinian archaeologists who follow the traditional terminology are: William F. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine, p. 84; Kathleen M. Kenyon, Archaeology In The Holy Land, pp. 162, 200; G. Ernest Wright, The Bible and the Ancient Near East, p. 106.

Various schemes have been devised to indicate the chronological periods of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. These represent attempts to gain greater precision in dating material remains and can be illustrated by the following:

A. Megiddo: (Loud, Megiddo II, p. 5).
MB II (1750-1500)
LB I (1500-1350)
LB II (1350-1150)

B. Lachish: (Tufnell, Lachish IV, p. 6).
MB II (c.1900-c.1750)
MB III (c.1750-c.1600)
LB I (c.1600-c.1450)
LB II (c.1450-c.1350)
LB III (c.1350-c.1200)

C. Palestine in general: (Kenyon, Archaeology In The Holy Land, pp. 170ff.).
MB II (c.1850-c.1580)
Transitional Period (c.1580-c.1479)
LB I (c.1479-c.1400)
LB II (c.1400-1200)

(Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine, pp. 80-109).
MB IIA (18th century)
MB IIB (18th-17th century)
MB IIC (17th-16th century)
LB IA (1550-1479)
LB IB (equated with Lachish Temple I, 1475-1400)
LB IIA (14th century)
LB IIB (13th century)

> with the Phoenician coastal towns that close links were established/ In the early stages, there were also links with some of the settled areas of inland Syria, but these grew less as the Middle Bronze Age culture of Palestine developed. With Canaanite Phoenicia, the ties which were established about 1900 B.C. were permanent, and on the evidence of the pottery we can say that the same basic culture grew up in an area stretching from Ras Shamra in the north to the desert fringes of Palestine in the south. Moreover, the culture now introduced into Palestine was to have a very long life. In spite of the fact that a series of events took place of major political importance, there is no cultural break until at least 1200 B.C."[585]

From the 19th century there was a Canaanite culture in Palestine and this culture remained virtually Canaanite until the end of the Late Bronze Age. The early Hebrews found this Canaanite culture in the land.

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585. Kenyon, Kathleen M., Archaeology In the Holy Land, p. 162.

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